



THE
FORTIETH CONGRESS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

BY

William H. Barnes



PORTRAITS ON STEEL,

BY

George C. Peck
1862.



NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY GEO. E. PECK

1862.

THE
FORTIETH CONGRESS

5669

OF THE

UNITED STATES:

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

BY WILLIAM H. BARNES,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS," ETC.

With Portraits on Steel by George E. Perine.

VOLUME I.



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PREFACE.

 HIS book describes and illustrates the men composing the greatest legislative body in the world. No other national assembly is convened from such extended territory, represents a constituency at once so numerous, intelligent, and free, or possesses powers so immense and so well defined.

This particular Congress will not suffer in comparison with any of its predecessors. It exhibits as much practical statesmanship, sound wisdom, and effective eloquence, as have been displayed by the legislative department in any period of American history. There is a popular error which regards the Congress of thirty years ago as superior to that of the present. With a propensity to revere antiquity, we look backward through a golden haze which magnifies the Statesmen of those times. Measured accurately by the standard which now prevails, they lose their gigantic proportions. The subjects with which they had to deal were insignificant compared with those which demand the attention of living Statesmen. So universal has been the spread of intelligence, that men are found in every Congressional District as wise on questions of national policy as the most conspicuous Statesmen of the last generation.

It has not been the author's task to single out "Eminent Americans," or distinguished "Men of the Times"—this has been the work of the people. They selected from thirty millions those whom they regarded as best fitted for their highest Legislative labors, and, in so doing, have designated those most worthy to be described by the author and the artist.

These biographies reveal the fact that in almost every instance

their subjects were the architects of their own fortunes. In youth they walked the stony path of poverty, and have arisen to eminence by energy and talent.

We have given the personal history of each as minutely as the material within our reach, and the space at our disposal would admit. We have given plain, unvarnished narratives, unbiased by political attractions or repulsions. It must be confessed, however, that in every instance we have been conscious of a feeling of friendliness, without which the task of the biographer would be ungracious.

Much of recent history may be found in the following pages of biography. Concise war-histories of the States of New York, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, may be found in the sketches of the late Governors of those States now in Congress. In one of the sketches, Chief-Justice Chase gives an interesting history of the origin of the financial system made necessary by the war. Quotations from speeches are not in all cases the finest passages from the best efforts of their authors, but are often made in view of their pertinency to subjects of current legislation. The sketches generally end abruptly, and are necessarily incomplete, from the fact that their subjects, with a single exception, are still living, to perform other distinguished and useful services.

The public are assured that the portraits are as accurate as they can be made by the combined arts of photography and engraving. In every instance the portraits have been pronounced, by the personal friends of the subjects, as strikingly accurate. No American book has ever contained finer portraits, and no volume ever published has had a larger number.

The second volume will appear so soon as the artistic and typographical work can be completed.


NEW YORK, February, 1869.

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THE FORTIETH CONGRESS.

HE Fortieth Congress ranks among the most remarkable legislative bodies of ancient or modern times. The men who composed it, the emergencies in which it was placed, and the measures which it enacted, all contribute to its distinction. It must ever occupy a high historical position by reason of its achievements in completing the work of Reconstruction begun by its predecessor, and the great struggle which it maintained with the Executive branch of the Government.

The Thirty-ninth Congress closed its labors and its existence at noon, on the 4th of March, 1867. At the same hour, in accordance with a recently enacted law, the Fortieth Congress convened, and proceeded to organize for business. So large a proportion of the members had been re-elected, that the new Congress formed essentially the same body as its predecessor. The membership, however, was not complete, since the States of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Tennessee, Kentucky, California, and Nebraska, had not yet held their elections, and were not represented in the House. The States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas were unrepresented, by reason of their failure hitherto to comply with the terms of reconstruction.

Before the House entered upon the regular routine of business, the Democratic members took occasion to enter their "most solemn protest against the organization of the House, until the absent States should be more fully represented."

The Senate was called to order by Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, who had been elected its President *pro tempore* before the close of the

previous Congress. The House of Representatives was organized by the election to the speakership of Hon. Schuyler Colfax, now for the third time the recipient of that high honor.

Congress at once addressed itself to the duty of perfecting the work of Reconstruction. The bill which had been passed over the President's veto, March 2d, was incomplete in not having all the provisions necessary for carrying it into effect in accordance with the purposes of its framers.

Supplementary Reconstruction bills were proposed by Mr. Wilson in the House, and Mr. Trumbull in the Senate. The best features of both having been combined and fully discussed, the perfected bill was finally passed over the President's veto on the 23d of March. In this supplementary bill, directions were given for the due registration of voters, the method of conducting elections, and the mode of calling conventions.

Before the close of the preceding Congress, a conviction had taken possession of many minds that the President, in his career of opposition to the legislative branch of the Government, had been guilty of crimes and misdemeanors which laid him liable to impeachment. On the 7th of January, 1867, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, offered a resolution, which passed by a vote of 108 to 38, instructing the Judiciary Committee to "inquire into the official conduct of Andrew Johnson," and report whether he had been guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors, requiring the interposition of the Constitutional power of the House." The Committee to which this question was referred, was unable to complete its investigations before the close of the Thirty-ninth Congress, and the undetermined question of impeachment was handed over to the discussion and action of the Fortieth Congress. In the first session of this Congress its Judiciary Committee was charged with the duty of continuing the investigations, with instructions to report at the second session. Congress adjourned on the 30th of March, making provision for re-assembling on the 3d of July, if the exigencies of Reconstruction or the conduct of the President should make a meeting necessary.

The President manifested extreme unwillingness to execute the Reconstruction laws. He was sustained in his position of hostility to Congress by the opinion of his Attorney-General, which justified him in disregarding the laws recently enacted for the government of the Rebel States. Alarmed by this attitude of the President and his subordinate, Congress re-assembled in full force on the 3d of July, prepared to meet the exigencies of the hour. "The peculiar views," said Mr. Howard in the Senate, "taken by the Attorney-General of the United States of the reconstruction acts of Congress, and the apprehension of the members of this body, at least the majority, that the President of the United States, in the execution of those acts, may or will be governed by the conclusions to which his legal advisers have arrived, have doubtless been the great causes for the re-assembling of Congress."

An additional Reconstruction act was passed over the President's veto on the 19th of July. A practical feature of this bill, which distinguished it from previous acts, was a provision devolving many of the details of the execution of the laws upon the General of the Army, in whose abilities and integrity Congress and the country placed full reliance. That nothing might be left undone to aid in the full restoration of the South, Congress appropriated one million six hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars to defray the necessary expenses of Reconstruction.

The President, in a communication relating to the cost of carrying out the provisions of the Reconstruction bills, stated that if the Federal Government should abolish the existing State governments of the ten States, the United States would be justly responsible for the debts incurred by those States for other purposes than in aid of the rebellion; those debts amounted to at least \$100,000,000. He thought it worthy the consideration of Congress whether the assumption of so great an obligation would not seriously impair the national credit; whether, on the other hand, "the refusal of Congress to guarantee the payment of the debts of those States, after having displaced or abolished their State governments, would not be

viewed as a violation of good faith, and a repudiation by the National Legislature of liabilities which those States had jointly and legally incurred. The House, by a vote of 100 to 18, resolved that this intimation of the liability of the United States for those debts, "is at war with the principles of international law, a deliberate stab at the national credit, abhorrent to every sentiment of loyalty, and well-pleasing only to the traitors by whose agency alone the Governments of said States were overthrown."

When the Fortieth Congress convened for its second session on the 21st of November, 1867, its first important business was to hear a report from the Committee charged with the work of investigating the conduct of the President, with a view to his impeachment. On the 25th of November, Mr. Boutwell presented to the House the report of that Committee, recommending that Andrew Johnson be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. On the same day, a minority of the Committee presented a dissenting report recommending that the whole subject be laid on the table, and that the Committee be discharged. Both reports were ordered to be printed, and the subject was made the special order for Wednesday, the 4th of December. On that day the subject was resumed, and after a discussion of three days, was determined against impeachment, fifty-seven voting in the affirmative, and one hundred and eight in the negative. Of those voting in the negative, thirty-nine were Democrats, and sixty-nine were Republicans. The "overt act" was yet to be committed which would consolidate the Republicans to form the Constitutional two-thirds required for the impeachment of the President.

The character of Mr. Johnson's message, delivered to Congress on the 3d of December, was such as to indicate his unmitigated hostility to Congress, and was calculated to fan the unhappy strife between the co-ordinate branches of the Government. There had been some hope that Mr. Johnson, taught by observation and experience that the Congressional plan of reconstruction was that upon which the country had determined, would relax his opposition, and apply him-

self to the duty of executing the laws. His December message dispelled this hope. From the moment this paper was made public, it was evident that a fiercer conflict was impending between the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government.

On the 12th of December, President Johnson transmitted to the Senate a communication setting forth his reasons for suspending Mr. Stanton from the exercise of the functions of Secretary of War. The general ground upon which Mr. Johnson justified his suspension of Mr. Stanton, was, that upon grave and important questions the views of the Secretary of War differed from those of the President. Mr. Johnson, in the case of the Secretary of War, did not admit that he was bound by the Tenure of Office Act, since before he had vetoed it, every member of his Cabinet, including Mr. Stanton, had agreed that it was unconstitutional. So soon as it had been discovered that the differences of policy could not be reconciled, those members of the Cabinet who did not coincide with the President, save Mr. Stanton, had resigned. By Mr. Stanton's continuance in office, "that unity of opinion which, upon great questions of public policy or administration, is so essential to the Executive, was gone." Since Mr. Stanton would not resign to produce this desired unity, Mr. Johnson had been induced to resort to his suspension.

This message was referred to the Military Committee of the Senate, a majority of whom, on the 8th of January, presented an elaborate report controverting the statements and assumptions of the President. The design of the Tenure of Office Act was to prevent the President from making any removals except for mental or moral incapacity, or for some legal disqualification; and then, facts must be proved prior to removals. The constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Bill was maintained. The President had himself recognized it by his action in every case. The Report declared that if the purposes of Mr. Johnson, for which he required the unanimous support of his Cabinet, had been carried out, "the plain intention of Congress in regard to reconstruction in rebel States would have been defeated." The Military Committee said of Mr. Johnson, that "his whole course of

conduct was notoriously in open and violent antagonism to the will of the nation as expressed by the two Houses of Congress. Mr. Stanton, on the other hand, had favored the execution of these laws. He had good reason to believe, and did believe, that if he resigned his post, Mr. Johnson would fill the vacancy by the appointment of some person in accord with himself in his plans of obstruction and resistance to the will of Congress." With reference to the statement by the President that Mr. Stanton had considered the Tenure of Office Bill unconstitutional, and was opposed to its becoming a law, it was said in the report, "It does not follow because a public officer has entertained such an opinion of a proposed measure, he is to carry his notions so far as to treat it as void when formally enacted into a law by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress." The Committee eulogized Mr. Stanton's conduct in refusing to resign, declaring that "in so doing he consulted both his own duty and the best interests of the country." They recommended the passage of a Resolution by the Senate non-concurring in the suspension of Mr. Stanton. The resolution was adopted by a majority of thirty-five to six. In consequence of this action of the Senate, General Grant ceased to exercise the functions of Secretary of War *ad interim*, and Mr. Stanton resumed the duties of his office.

General Grant incurred the displeasure of the President because he did not resign the Secretaryship into his hands, that he might appoint another, who would prevent Mr. Stanton from resuming the office. The voluminous correspondence which followed, attracted much attention, and revealed in a clear light the characters of the two distinguished disputants. The letters of the President showed that it was his determination to control the Department of War, despite the Tenure of Office Act and the will of the Senate.

In view of the state of things brought to light in this correspondence, Mr. Stevens, on the 13th of February, proposed to the House Committee on Reconstruction, a resolution to impeach the President for high crimes and misdemeanors. The resolution was laid on the table, Messrs. Bingham, Paine, Beaman, Brooks, and Beck, voting in

the affirmative, and Stevens, Boutwell, and Farnsworth, in the negative.

On the twenty-first of February, the President issued an order to Mr. Stanton, removing him from the office of Secretary of War, directing him to surrender all books, papers, and public property of the Department to General Lorenzo Thomas, whom he had appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*. General Thomas immediately presented himself at the War Department and demanded possession. Mr. Stanton refused to surrender the office, and ordered General Thomas to proceed to the apartment which belonged to him as Adjutant-General. This order was not obeyed. Mr. Stanton remained in possession of the War Department, and continued to discharge the functions of the office. At the same time General Thomas was recognized as Secretary by the President, and in that capacity attended the meetings of the Cabinet.

On the 22d of February, Mr. Stevens, as Chairman of the House Committee on Reconstruction, presented a brief report, presenting the fact of the attempted removal of Mr. Stanton by the President, and recommending the passage of a resolution that Andrew Johnson be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. An earnest debate ensued, which was closed with a speech written by Mr. Stevens, but read by the Clerk of the House. The veteran Chairman of the Committee and former leader of the House, with a mind still vigorous, found his physical strength insufficient for personal participation in debate. After two days' discussion, on the 24th of February, the Resolution to impeach the President passed the House by a vote of one hundred and twenty-six to forty-seven.

The House also appointed a committee to prepare Articles of Impeachment, consisting of seven members: Messrs. Boutwell, Stevens, Bingham, Wilson, Logan, Julian, and Ward. A committee of two members, Messrs. Stevens and Boutwell, was appointed to notify the Senate of the action of the House—a duty which was performed on the following day. Thereupon the Senate, by a unanimous vote, resolved that the message from the House should be referred to a com-

mittee of seven, to be appointed by the chair. This committee subsequently made a report, laying down the rules of procedure to be observed in the trial.

On the 29th of February, Articles of Impeachment were presented to the House by the Committee which had been charged with that duty. After slight modification, these, with two additional articles, were adopted, on the 4th of March. The votes on the different articles slightly varied, the average being 125 yeas to 40 nays. The House then elected the following members to be Managers to conduct the Impeachment before the Senate: Messrs. Bingham, Boutwell, Wilson, Butler, Williams, Logan, and Stevens.

The Democratic members abstained from voting in the election of Managers. They entered a formal protest against the whole course of proceedings involved in the impeachment of the President. While taking this step, they claimed to represent, "directly or in principles, more than one-half of the people of the United States." On the fifth of March the Articles of Impeachment were presented to the Senate by the Managers, who were accompanied by the House of Representatives, the grand inquest of the nation. Mr. Bingham, the Chairman of the Managers, read the Articles of Impeachment.

The Court, consisting of fifty-four Senators, presided over by the Chief-Justice, was organized on Thursday, the 5th of March. The oath was administered to Chief-Justice Chase by Associate-Justice Nelson. The Chief-Justice then administered the oath to the Senators present, except Mr. Wade, whose eligibility as a member of the court was challenged on the ground that he was a party interested, since in the event of the impeachment being sustained, he, as President of the Senate, would succeed to the Presidency of the United States. After a discussion of several hours, the objection was withdrawn, and Mr. Wade was sworn as a member of the Court. On the 7th, Mr. Brown, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, served upon the President the summons to appear before the bar of the High Court of Impeachment, and answer to the Articles of Impeachment.

The trial commenced on Friday, the 13th of March, the President

appearing by his counsel, Henry Stanberry, Benjamin R. Curtis, William M. Evarts, Thomas A. R. Nelson, and William S. Groesbeck. Application was made by the President, through his counsel, for forty days in which to prepare his answer to the indictment. The Senate refused so much time, and granted ten days, ordering that the trial should be resumed on the 23d. Upon that day the President appeared by his counsel, and presented his answer to the Articles of Impeachment. His answer was a general denial of each and every criminal act charged in the Articles of Impeachment. The counsel for the President then asked for a further delay of the trial for thirty days after the replication of the Managers of the Impeachment should be rendered. This was refused, and the Managers, indicating their purpose to present their replication on the following day, it was ordered that the trial should be suspended only until Monday, the 30th of March, and then proceed "with all dispatch." The replication presented by the Managers was a simple denial of each and every averment in the answer of the President.

On the 30th of March, the opening speech on the part of the House of Representatives was made by Mr. Butler. The remainder of the week was occupied by the presentation of documentary and oral testimony on the part of the prosecution. On Saturday, April 4th, the Managers announced that the case on their part was substantially closed. The counsel for the President then asked for three working days in which to prepare for the defense. The Senate granted their request, and adjourned to meet as a Court of Impeachment on Thursday, April 9th. The trial being resumed on the day appointed, Mr. Curtis delivered the opening speech for the defense. At the conclusion of this address, the testimony for the President, both oral and documentary, was presented.

The testimony in the case having closed on Monday, April 20, the Court adjourned until the following Wednesday, when the final arguments were commenced. Oral arguments were presented by each of the President's counsel, and all of the Managers for the prosecution except Mr. Logan, who filed his in writing. The argument was

closed for the defense by Mr. Evarts, and for the prosecution by Mr. Bingham, each of whom occupied three days in his address. The delivery of the arguments occupied a fortnight, ending on the 6th of May. On the following day, the mode of procedure having been determined, the Court adjourned until the 11th, when it re-assembled with closed doors for deliberation. Two days were occupied with these deliberations, during the course of which several Senators delivered elaborate opinions upon the case.

Saturday, May 6th, was fixed upon as the day when the vote should be taken. It was ordered by the Senate that the vote should be taken on the eleventh article first. The name of each Senator being called in alphabetical order, thirty-five voted "guilty," and nineteen "not guilty." The former were Messrs. Anthony, Cameron, Cattell, Chandler, Cole, Conkling, Conness, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harlan, Howard, Howe, Morgan, Morrill (of Maine), Morrill (of Vermont), Morton, Nye, Patterson (of New Hampshire), Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Thayer, Tipton, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson, Yates.

Those voting "not guilty" were Messrs. Bayard, Buckalew, Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Fowler, Grimes, Henderson, Hendricks, Johnson, McCreery, Norton, Patterson (of Tennessee), Ross, Saulsbury, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Vickers.


Two-thirds of the Senate having failed to vote in favor of conviction, the Chief-Justice formally announced that the President was acquitted on the eleventh article. The Court was then adjourned until Tuesday, the 26th of May. On that day votes were taken on the second and third articles, on which the President was acquitted by the same vote which had been given on the eleventh article. The Senate sitting as a High Court of Impeachment then adjourned *sine die*.



J. F. Wade

BENJAMIN F. WADE.

PROSECUTOR OF THE SENATE.

N Feeding Hills Parish, Massachusetts, on the 27th of October, 1800, was born Benjamin F. Wade, the youngest of ten children. His father was a soldier of the Revolution, and fought in every battle from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. His mother was the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman, and was a woman of vigorous intellect and great force of character.

The family was one of the poorest in New England. They had, however, among their scanty property a few books, which eventually came into Benjamin's possession. He never enjoyed more than seven days' schooling, yet under the tuition of his mother he soon learned to read and write. He read and re-read the few books of the family library, and as a boy became better informed than most of his age.

He was for a time employed as a farm hand on very meagre wages. When eighteen years old, thinking he might find something better in the West, with a bundle of clothing on his back, and seven dollars in his pocket, he started on foot for Illinois. He walked as far as Ashtabula County, Ohio, when a fall of snow having impeded his progress, he determined to wait for spring to finish his journey. He hired out to cut wood in the forest at fifty cents per cord. He spent his evenings reading the Bible by the light of the fire on the hearth of the log cabin, and in a single winter read through both Old and New Testaments.

When spring came, he was persuaded to further suspend his journey to Illinois, by engaging in a summer's work at chopping, logging, and grubbing. This was followed by a winter at school-teaching. After two years of such employment, he engaged in driving herds of

cattle from Ohio to New York. He thus made six trips, the last one leaving him in Albany, New York. Here he taught a winter school, and in the spring hired himself to shovel on the Erie Canal, in which employment he spent the summer — "The only American I know," said Governor Seward, in a speech in the Senate, "who worked with a spade and wheel-barrow on that great improvement."

Having occupied the summer in work on the canal, he taught school another winter in Ohio. In the following spring he commenced the study of law with Hon. Elisha Whittlesey. He was soon after elected a justice of the peace. After two years he was admitted to the bar. He waited another year for his first suit, and from that time his success was steady. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney for Ashtabula County, a position of great advantage to a young man just rising in his profession.

But Mr. Wade's destined field was politics. He was elected to the State Senate, where he took the lead of the Whig minority. He aided in abolishing the law for imprisonment for debt. He inaugurated a war against the "Black Laws" of Ohio. He took a bold stand against the admission of Texas into the Union. "So help me, God!" he declared, "I will never assist in adding another rod of slave territory to this country."

Mr. Wade having attempted to bring about a repeal of the State laws that oppressed the negroes and gave security to slavery in the neighboring States, incurred the displeasure of his party friends, who left him at home at the next election.

Time and events having at length brought the people up to Wade's position, they again sent him to the Senate against his will. There he procured the passage of a bill which founded the Oberlin College, "for the education of persons without regard to race or color." He led the resistance of Ohio to the resolution adopted by Congress, denying the people the right to petition concerning the abolition of slavery. He labored to bring the Legislature and the State up to the support of John Quincy Adams in his fight for the sacred right of petition.

In 1847, Mr. Wade was elected President Judge of the Third Judicial District. After the session of his court was over for the day, Judge Wade sometimes went to the neighboring school-houses and made speeches in favor of General Taylor, then a candidate for the Presidency. Since Wade was known far and near as a strong anti-slavery man, it was thought strange that he did not support Mr. Van Buren, the candidate of the Liberty party. Some of his friends remonstrated with him for supporting Taylor, a slaveholder. "Taylor is a good old Whig," he replied, "and I am not going to stand by and see him crucified between two such thieves as Cass and Van Buren." For four years he occupied the bench, and obtained with the bar and the people the reputation of a wise and just judge.

In March, 1851, as he was hearing a cause in court, the firing of a cannon in the streets of Akron announced to the public that Mr. Wade had been elected United States Senator by the Legislature of Ohio. The office had not been sought for by him, nor canvassed for by his friends. The arrangements of politicians and the selfishness of aspirants were over-ruled by the people in their desire to have one who would represent the manhood, the conscience, the *progress* of the State.

When Mr. Wade entered the Senate, he found but few opposed to the aggressions of slavery. In 1856, when the great Kansas controversy came up, the advocates of slavery were thirty-two against thirteen in favor of freedom. Wade showed himself brave against all odds and every influence. "I come before the Senate to-day," said he, "as a Republican, or, as some prefer to call me, a Black Republican, for I do not object to the term. I care nothing about the name; I come here especially as the advocate of liberty, instead of slavery."

Mr. Wade has continued a member of the United States Senate, by successive re-election, for eighteen years. His Senatorial career has been marked by indomitable energy, unflinching courage, and invariable consistency. It has been marked by some acts which cannot fail to cause his name to be remembered. He reported from

the Committee on Territories the first provision prohibiting slavery in all the Territories of the United States to be henceforth acquired. He proposed in the Senate the bill for Negro Suffrage in the District of Columbia.

It was in the days when Republicans in Congress were few, and the champions of Slavery were dominant in the councils of the Republic, that Mr. Wade rendered services for the struggling cause of liberty that are never to be forgotten. He met the arrogant leaders of the South with a bravery that secured their respect, and gained friends for his cause. Toombs, the fierce fire-eater of Georgia, once said in the Senate, "My friend from Ohio puts the matter squarely. He is always honest, outspoken, and straightforward; and I wish to God the rest of you would imitate him. He speaks out like a man. He says what is the difference, and it is. He means what he says; you don't. He and I can agree about everything on earth except our sable population."

It was the custom in those days for Northern Senators to yield submissively to the insolence of the slaveholders. Mr. Wade had too much nerve and independence meekly to accept the situation. Soon after he took his seat, a Southerner in debate grossly insulted a Free State Senator. As no allusion was made to himself or his State, Wade sat still; but when the Senate adjourned, he said openly, if ever a Southern Senator made such an attack on him or Ohio while he sat on that floor, he would brand him as a liar. This coming to the ears of the Southern men, a Senator took occasion to pointedly speak, a few days afterward, of Ohio and her people as negro thieves. Instantly Mr. Wade sprang to his feet and pronounced the Senator a liar. The Southern Senators were astounded, and gathered round their champion; while the Northern men grouped about Wade. A feeler was put out from the Southern side, looking to retraction; but Mr. Wade retorted in his peculiar style, and demanded an apology for the insult offered himself and the people he represented. The matter thus closed, and a fight was looked upon as certain. The next day a gentleman called on the Senator from Ohio,

and asked the usual question touching his acknowledgment of the code.

"I am here," he responded, "in a double capacity. I represent the State of Ohio, and I represent Ben. Wade. As a Senator, I am opposed to dueling. As Ben. Wade, I recognize the code."

"My friend feels aggrieved," said the gentleman, "at what you said in the Senate yesterday, and will ask for an apology or satisfaction."

"I was somewhat embarrassed," continued Senator Wade, "by my position yesterday, as I have some respect for the Chamber. I now take this opportunity to say what I then thought; and you will, if you please, repeat it. Your friend is a foul-mouthed old blackguard."

"Certainly, Senator Wade, you do not wish me to convey such a message as that?"

"Most undoubtedly I do; and will tell you, for your own benefit, this friend of yours will never notice it. I will not be asked for either retraction, explanation, or a fight."

Next morning Mr. Wade came into the Senate, and proceeding to his seat, deliberately drew from under his coat two large pistols, and, unlocking his desk, laid them inside. The Southern men looked on in silence, while the Northern members enjoyed the fire-eaters' surprise at the proceeding of the plucky Ohio Senator. No further notice was taken of the affair of the day before. Wade was not challenged, but ever afterward was treated with politeness and consideration by the Senator who had so insultingly attacked him.

Mr. Wade's fierce retorts sometimes fell with terrible effect upon his adversaries. When he was speaking against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Mr. Douglas interrupted him with an inquiry designed at once to rebuke and embarrass him: "You, Sir, continually compliment Southern men who support this bill, but bitterly denounce Northern men who support it. Why is this? You say it is a moral wrong; you say it is a crime. If that be so, is it not as much a crime for a Southern man to support it, as for a Northern man to do so?"

Mr. WADE.—“No, sir, I say not!”

Mr. DOUGLAS.—“The Senator says not. Then he entertains a different code of morals from myself and—”

Mr. WADE (breaking in, and pointing at Douglas with extended arm and forefinger, his face wrinkling with scorn, and contempt and rage flashing out of his eyes)—“*Your* code of morals! *Your morals!* My God, I hope so, sir!”

A witness of the scene says that the “Giant” was hit in the forehead, and, after standing for a moment, his cheeks as red as scarlet, he sank silent into his chair.

Mr. Wade gained enduring fame by the unanswerable reasoning, the powerful oratory, and the undaunted courage with which he resisted the extension of slavery against the united might of the propagandists of the South and North.

Near the close of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Wade was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate. He was chosen to that office at a time when it seemed probable that his election would soon become an elevation to the Presidential Chair by virtue of the impeachment and removal of Mr. Johnson. The narrowness of Mr. Johnson’s escape, and the nearness of Mr. Wade’s approach to the Presidency, are among the most curious scenes in recent history.


As an orator, Senator Wade has little polish, but great force, directness, and effect. He is an original thinker, and has much learning for one whose advantages were so few. His manners are plain and unaffected, his tastes are simple as in his humbler years. At home, in Ohio, he lives in a style undistinguished from the substantial citizens about him. His residence is a plain white frame house, hid among the trees and surrounded by ample grounds.

“There is,” says one, “a Puritan grimness in his face, which melts into sweetness and tenderness when his sympathies are touched, and which is softened away by the humor which wells from his mirthfulness in broad, rich, and original streams.”



Charles Schurz

CHARLES SUMNER.

HE ancestors of Charles Sumner were among the early emigrants to New England. His father's cousin, Increase Sumner, was one of the early governors of the State of Massachusetts, and was regarded as a worthy successor of Hancock and Adams. The father of Charles Sumner was a successful lawyer, and for many years held the office of High Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

Charles Sumner was born in Boston, January 6th, 1811. Having received a preparatory training in the Boston Latin School, and the Phillips Academy, he became a student in Harvard College, where he graduated in 1830. He subsequently entered the Cambridge Law School, where he pursued his studies three years under the direction of Judge Story, with whom he formed an intimate and lasting friendship.

In 1836 he was admitted to the bar, and rose rapidly in his profession. He was appointed Reporter of the Circuit Court of the United States; and, while holding this office, published three volumes of decisions, known as "Sumner's Reports." At the same time he edited the "American Jurist," a law paper of high reputation.

During three winters following his admission to the bar, Mr. Sumner lectured to the students of the Cambridge Law School. Then, as in after life, his favorite subjects were those relating to constitutional law and the law of nations.¹ In 1836 he was offered a professorship in the Law School, and in Harvard College, both of which he declined.

In 1837 he visited Europe, where he remained till 1840, traveling

in Italy, Germany, and France, and residing a year in England. His time was improved in adding to his previous literary and legal attainments an extensive knowledge of the languages and literature of modern Europe.

After three years spent abroad, Mr. Sumner returned to his native city, and resumed the practice of law. In addition to his professional duties, he was occupied from 1844 to 1846 in editing and publishing an elaborately annotated edition of "Vesey's Reports," in twenty volumes.

Mr. Sumner was recognized as belonging to the Whig party, yet for several years after his return from Europe he took but little part in politics. He made his first appearance on the political stage on the 4th of July, 1845, when he pronounced an oration before the municipal authorities of Boston on "The True Grandeur of Nations." This utterance was made in view of the aspect of affairs which portended war between the United States and Mexico. This oration attracted great attention, and was widely circulated both in Europe and America. Cobden pronounced it "the most noble contribution made by any modern writer to the cause of peace."

At a popular meeting in Faneuil Hall, November 4, 1845, Mr. Sumner made an eloquent and able argument in opposition to the annexation of Texas, on the ground of slavery. In the following year he delivered an address before the Whig State Convention of Massachusetts on "The Anti-Slavery Duties of the Whig Party." In this address, Mr. Sumner avowed himself the uncompromising enemy of slavery. He announced his purpose to pursue his opposition to that great evil, under the Constitution, which he maintained was an instrument designed to secure liberty and equal rights. Provisions in the Constitution conferring privileges on slaveholders were compromises with what the framers of that instrument expected would prove but a temporary thing.

In 1846 Mr. Sumner addressed a public letter to Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who then represented Boston in Congress, rebuking him for his vote in favor of war with Mexico. In this letter the Mexican

war was characterized as an unjust, dishonorable, and cowardly attack on a sister republic, having its origin in a purpose to promote the extension of slavery.

The position of Mr. Sumner was too far in advance of the Whig party to admit of his remaining in full fellowship. In 1848 he sundered his old political ties, and aided in the organization of the Free Soil party, whose platform was composed of principles which he had distinctively announced in his public addresses. Van Buren and Adams, candidates of the new party, were earnestly supported by Mr. Sumner in the Presidential contest of 1848.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act tended to obliterate old party lines and overshadow former political issues. A vacancy in the United States Senate occurring by the accession of Daniel Webster to the cabinet of Mr. Fillmore, the duty of electing his successor devolved upon the Legislature of Massachusetts. By a coalition of Free-Soilers and Democrats in the Legislature, Mr. Sumner was nominated for the office, and was elected after an earnest and protracted contest. The result was regarded as a signal triumph of the anti-slavery party.

In the Senate of the United States, Mr. Sumner's first important speech was against the Fugitive Slave Law. He then announced his great political formula, "Freedom is national, and slavery sectional," which furnished the clue to his subsequent career. He argued that Congress had no power, under the Constitution, to legislate for the rendition of fugitive slaves, and that the act was not only in conflict with the Constitution, but was cruel and tyrannical.

The great debate on the Missouri Compromise and the contest in Kansas elicited all of Mr. Sumner's powers of eloquence and argument. His great speech, published under the title of "The Crime against Kansas," occupied two days in its delivery. Southern Senators and Representatives were greatly incensed by this speech, and it was determined to meet argument by blows. Two days after the delivery of the speech, Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, assaulted Mr. Sumner while writing at his desk in

the Senate Chamber. Mr. Sumner, unarmed and powerless behind his desk, was beaten on the head until he fell insensible on the floor. A Committee of the House of Representatives reported in favor of Brooks's expulsion. The resolution then reported received a little less than the two-thirds vote necessary to its adoption. Mr. Brooks, however, resigned his seat, pleaded guilty before the court at Washington upon an indictment for assault, and was sentenced to a fine of three hundred dollars. Having returned to his constituents to receive their verdict on his conduct, he was re-elected to Congress by a unanimous vote. A few days after resuming his seat in Congress, he died suddenly of acute inflammation of the throat.

On the other hand, Mr. Sumner did not fail to receive the endorsement of his constituents. In the following January, while still disabled with his wounds, he was re-elected by an almost unanimous vote, in a Legislature consisting of several hundred members. In the spring of 1857 he went to Europe, by the advice of his physicians, to seek a restoration of his health, and returned in the following autumn to resume his seat in the Senate. His health being still impaired, he again went abroad in May, 1858, and submitted to a course of medical treatment of extraordinary severity. After an absence of eighteen months, he returned in the autumn of 1859, with health restored, again to enter upon his Senatorial duties.

It was highly appropriate that the first serious effort of Mr. Sumner, after his return to the Senate, should be a delineation of "The Barbarism of Slavery." In an elaborate and eloquent speech, which was published under that title, he denounced slavery in its influence on character, society, and civilization.

In the Presidential contest of 1860, which resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Sumner took an active part, and was gratified in seeing the signal triumph of principles which he had long maintained. On the secession of the rebel States, he earnestly opposed all compromise with slavery as a means of restoring the Union. He early proposed and advocated emancipation as the speediest mode of bringing the war to a close.

In March, 1861, he entered upon the responsible position of Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. In this position he has rendered great service to the country by his vigilant attention to our interests as affected by our relations with European powers. His influence has always been exerted to promote peace and mutual understanding. On the 9th of January, 1862, he delivered an elaborate speech, arguing that the seizure of Mason and Slidell, on board the steamer *Trent*, was unjustifiable on the principles of international law which had always been maintained by the United States.

In March, 1863, Mr. Sumner entered upon his third Senatorial term. He advocated with zeal and eloquence all the great Congressional measures which promoted the successful prosecution of the war. The Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, which was the great act of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, was a triumph of the principles long advocated by Mr. Sumner, and forms a crowning glory of his statesmanship.

On the first day of the Thirty-Ninth Congress Mr. Sumner introduced a bill looking to the reconstruction of the rebel States under a Republican form of government, and a measure to confer suffrage on the colored people of the District of Columbia.

He took the high ground that it was the right and duty of Congress, under the Constitution, to guarantee impartial suffrage in all the States. He was bold and eloquent in advocating the securing, by Congressional enactment, of equal civil and political rights to all men without regard to color.

He earnestly opposed the reconstruction policy of President Johnson, and shuddered to see his disposition to leave the freedmen in the hands of their late masters. On the 20th of December, 1865, Mr. Sumner denounced the President's "attempt to white wash the unhappy condition of the rebel States, and throw the mantle of official oblivion over sickening and heart-rending outrages where human rights are sacrificed, and rebel barbarism receives a new letter of license."

From first to last Mr. Sumner was one of the boldest of the opponents of President Johnson's usurpations. In the great trial of Impeachment he voted to convict the President, and sustained his verdict in the case by a learned and able opinion concerning the law and the evidence.


Amid all his official and public labors, Mr. Sumner has been constant in his devotion to literature. He published in 1850 two volumes of "Orations;" in 1853, a work on "White Slavery in the Barbary States;" and in 1856, a volume of "Speeches and Addresses." Some of his recent speeches in the Senate are as exhaustive in their treatment of their subjects, as elaborate in finish, as abundant in facts, and as copious in details, as ordinary volumes. Such, for example, is the great speech in the Senate on "The Cession of Russian America to the United States," in which the geography, history, and resources of our newly acquired territory are set forth more accurately and fully than in any accessible treatise on the subject.

Mr. Sumner is tall and robust in person. He has regular features, which bear the impress of thought and culture. His head is surmounted by an abundance of black hair, which is but slightly tinged with gray. As a speaker he is solemn and impressive in his manner, graceful in gesticulation, and deliberate in utterance. The varied stores of learning are so much at his command that he draws upon them with a frequency which sometimes brings upon him a charge of pedantry. By many he is regarded as too theoretical and too little practical for a successful statesman. It is his happiness, however, to have lived to see many of his theories, once unpopular, adopted as the practical principles of the most powerful party in the nation.



Albany

ALEXANDER G. CATTELL.

OW that great financial problems, which concern the honor and even life of the nation, are to be solved, it is fortunate that there are men in the halls of National Legislation whose ability to grapple with such questions has been proven by their success in private business.

Such a man is Alexander G. Cattell, Senator from New Jersey. He was born at Salem, New Jersey, February 12, 1816. The town of Salem was the residence of his ancestors for more than a century. There lived his patriotic grandfather, who in the war of the Revolution was singled out as a special object of British vengeance on account of his conspicuous devotion to the American cause. One day as he was plowing in the field, the breeze of the morning wafted across the Delaware the thunder of the cannon of the battle of the Brandywine. Turning his horses loose, he went quickly to his house, took down his fowling piece, rowed across the river, and, like John Brown at Gettysburg, took post in the ranks and poured his fire into the enemy. His son, the father of Alexander G. Cattell, inherited the spirit and principles of his Revolutionary sire. He was for half a century a successful merchant, and recently died, greatly respected, at the age of nearly fourscore years.

Mr. Cattell being designed for mercantile business, received such an education as was deemed necessary for that pursuit forty years ago. At the age of thirteen he was placed behind the counter of his father's store, where he advanced, before he had attained his majority, to the head of a large and flourishing business of his own.

At the age of twenty-four, Mr. Cattell was elected to the Legisla-

ture of New Jersey, and in 1844 was a member of the Convention called to revise the State Constitution. Although the youngest member of that body, which embraced the leading men of the State, he was second to none in ability and influence. Distinguished for sound common sense, a choice command of language, and a graceful and forcible delivery, he never rose to speak without commanding the respectful attention, and generally securing the conviction of his auditors.

While success crowned his commercial operations in his native town, he possessed capabilities for a career of enterprise and competition in a more extensive field. Accordingly, in 1846, he removed to Philadelphia, where he entered into mercantile business, first with Mr. E. G. James, and afterwards with his brother, Mr. Elijah G. Cattell. He soon became extensively engaged in the shipment of grain and other produce to foreign markets. He soon became a prominent member, and afterwards President, of the Corn Exchange Association of Philadelphia, which won honorable eminence among the business boards of that city for its public spirit and patriotic devotion to the interests of the country. The Association is composed of many of the most liberal and wealthy merchants of Philadelphia. Through their enterprise, energy, and sagacious management, the grain trade of that city was developed, until it has become a commercial interest of the greatest magnitude.

The Corn Exchange became conspicuous, at the outbreak of the civil war, as a pre-eminently loyal body of citizens. When the news reached Philadelphia that the rebellion of the South had culminated in the attack on Fort Sumter, the Association then assembled for their daily business laid aside their "samples," and raising the flag of the country in front of their hall, pledged themselves to keep it floating till the rebellion should be subdued, and the honor of that flag vindicated. They contributed largely to aid in the enlistment of men, and the support of the families of such as went to fight the battles of the country. The Association recruited, organized, and equipped two and a half regiments for the field. Mr. Cattell was chair-

man of the special committee under whose supervision the patriotic service was performed.

As a testimonial of the esteem in which Mr. Cattell was held by his associates in this work, they voted that when the old flag-staff at the camp, around which their regiments had rallied, was taken down, it should be planted on the grounds of his country seat. When this was done, a magnificent flag was presented to him with interesting and appropriate ceremonies.

During the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, Mr. Cattell gave to Mr. Lincoln's administration the utmost support of his talents, money, and influence. Few enjoyed to a greater degree the respect and confidence of that great and good man.

During Mr. Cattell's residence in Philadelphia he was several times a member of both branches of the municipal government. As a legislator for the city he ever had a careful regard for the great public and private interests intrusted to his care.

No mercantile house in Philadelphia has stood higher than that of A. G. Cattell & Co. in a character for the enterprise and integrity that form the basis of commercial success. Mr. Cattell had other business connections, first as Director of the Mechanics' Bank, and then as President of the Corn Exchange Bank, proving himself to be an able financier, fully meeting the expectations which were formed of his character and talents from his previous career.

In 1855 Mr. Cattell resumed his residence in his native State, making his home in an elegant villa about three miles from the city of Camden, where he now resides.

In 1866 Mr. Cattell was elected a Senator in Congress from New Jersey. "The esteem in which he is held by those who know him best," says Rev. Dr. Carrow, one of his biographers, "may be inferred from the fact that, at the last regular session of the Legislature, the Republican members refused to go into an election rather than fail to secure his triumph. In this case the members were influenced not so much by personal partialities as by their conviction of his pre-eminent fitness for the great post of a Senator in Congress in these critical times."

Senator Cattell, by his course in Congress, has shown that the confidence of his party was not misplaced. He has been firm, consistent, and able in his support of the principles he avows.

Since he took his seat in the Senate, December 3, 1866, the voice and vote of Mr. Cattell have been given in favor of all the great measures of public policy which have given to Congress so prominent a place in the history of the country. Mr. Cattell's speeches abound in facts and figures so combined as to be most effective in argument. At the same time his speeches are not devoid of rhetorical beauties calculated to charm the most indifferent hearer.

To illustrate this, and at the same time give a hint of Mr. Cattell's views concerning the results of the war, we quote the closing paragraphs of his speech, delivered in the Senate January 22, 1867, on a "Bill to Provide Increased Revenue from Imports:—"


"The conflict is ended, and, God be praised, the right has triumphed; and having thus elevated four million human beings from chains and slavery to freedom and to manhood, let us address ourselves to the work of stimulating the industrial energies of the nation, so that free labor shall find its wonted employment, and receive its just reward.

"Perfect this bill, and then make it a law, and hope and courage will spring up throughout the nation. The fires of a thousand forges, and mills, and furnaces, will illumine the land, and the ceaseless hum of a million whirling spindles will chant the praises of the American Congress that had the wisdom to understand, and the fidelity to maintain the principles of the American system."



A. A. Bruce

CHARLES R. BUCKALEW.

 CHARLES R. BUCKALEW was born in Columbia County, Pennsylvania, December 28, 1821. He is of French descent, his ancestors having emigrated to this country on occasion of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His father and grandfather were private citizens, undistinguished by wealth or position.

We have but scanty information concerning Mr. Buckalew in his boyhood, whether in respect to his youthful occupations, the extent of his educational advantages, or other circumstances of interest. He once narrowly escaped drowning, when he was the subject of those peculiar mental experiences which are thought to indicate for the soul a future existence independent of the body.

Mr. Buckalew adopted the profession of law, and was admitted to practice in 1843. From 1845 to 1847, he was Prosecuting Attorney for his native County, and from 1850 to 1856 was a Senator in the Pennsylvania Legislature. Meanwhile, he served also as a Commissioner to exchange the ratification of a treaty with the Government of Paraguay; and was, in 1856, a Senatorial Presidential Elector. In 1857, he was Chairman of the State Democratic Committee, was re-elected to the State Senate, and was appointed a Commissioner to revise the Penal Code of Pennsylvania. In 1858, he resigned the two latter positions, and was appointed by President Buchanan Resident Minister to Ecuador, whence he returned in 1861. In 1863 he was elected a Senator in Congress from Pennsylvania, by a majority of one vote, for the term ending in 1869.

Mr. Buckalew is not so frequent a speaker as many in the Senate, and yet he is not silent in that great national council. In the com-

menement of his speech on the "Basis of Representation," February 21, 1865, he remarked that he had previously refrained from speech-making, supposing that "while the passions of the country were influenced by the war, reason could not be heard." And he took occasion to express regret that "questions pertaining to the war still occupied the attention of Congress to the exclusion of those connected with economy, revenue, finance, ordinary legislation, and the administration of justice—questions which require intelligence, investigation, labor, and the habits of the student."

As an argument for changing the basis of representation as it existed, Mr. Buckalew gave statistical details showing the various ratios of representation in the Senate, as possessed respectively by the East, West, and South. He maintained that New England had too great a preponderance of power in the Senate, both as to membership and the chairmanship of committees. "While," said he, "the population of the East is less than one-seventh of the population of the States represented in the Senate, she has the chairmanship of one-third of the committees. The chairmanship of a committee is a position of much influence and power. The several distinguished gentlemen holding that position have virtual control over the transaction of business, both in Committee and in the Senate."

Mr. Buckalew thus presented the effect of restoration of representation to the Southern States upon the relative position of New England: "Twenty-two Senators from the Southern States, and two from Colorado—being double the number of those from the East—would reduce the importance of the latter in the Senate, and remit her back to the condition in which she stood in her relations to the Union before the war. True, she would even then possess much more than her proportion of weight in the Senate, regard being had to her population; but she would no longer dominate or control the Government of the United States."

Mr. Buckalew opposed also the proposition to grant negro suffrage in the District of Columbia. "The objection," said he, "which I have to a large extension of suffrage in this country, whether by Federal

or State power, is this: That thereby you will corrupt and degrade elections, and probably lead to their complete abrogation hereafter. By pouring into the ballot-boxes of the country a large mass of ignorant votes, and votes subjected to pecuniary or social influence, you will corrupt and degrade your elections, and lay the foundation for their ultimate destruction."

Mr. Buckalew, by speech and vote, opposed the Civil Rights Bill, the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, and also the Military Reconstruction Bill.

In a speech on the last named measure, Mr. Buckalew thus presents his view of its character:

"Now, sir, what does this bill do? It provides, in a section of country thus subjected to military rule the most unlimited, for the organization of civil governments, State governments, and how? The military commander of the district is to appoint whomsoever he pleases, to act under whatever rules he may prescribe, according to his own pleasure, his own unregulated will, as agents and officers, to execute the plan of re-organization proposed, and these, his appointees, owing no obedience to any known law, and without rule or regulation for their conduct, other than that which he shall prescribe, are to proceed to enumerate the inhabitants, or rather, to register the electors among them, preliminary to what? Why, sir, to their exercise of the most valuable and fundamental privilege of freemen—the institution of government for themselves. And for any abuse of power, for any outrage, for any misconduct whatever, this bill and its predecessor are utterly destitute of any provision for punishment."


Mr. Buckalew is the ardent advocate of a "representative reform," by which minorities may have representation in the legislative bodies of the country, proportionate to their numbers. In advocacy of this scheme, he delivered an able and instructive address in Philadelphia, November 19, 1867. In illustrating what he termed the "cumulative vote," and its influence on elections, Mr. Buckalew said: "There are 60,000 voters in Vermont, of whom 40,000 are members of the Republican party, and 20,000 of the Democratic party. I speak in

round numbers. By law that State is entitled to three Representatives in Congress, because her population, under the Constitution of the United States, authorizes the allotment of that number to her. Now, what ought to take place there? The majority should elect two Representatives, having 40,000 votes, and the minority should elect one, having 20,000 votes; but can that be so in point of fact at present? If the electors of that State vote for three Representatives by general ticket, the majority would elect the whole three. By cumulative voting, by authorizing the 20,000 minority electors of that State to give each three votes to one candidate, that candidate would receive 60,000 votes, and the majority cannot defeat him. The majority voting for two Representatives can elect them, but they cannot elect the third. Suppose they attempt to vote for three candidates, they can only give each of them 40,000 votes, and the minority candidate has 60,000. If they attempt to vote for two, as they ought to do, that being the number they are entitled to, they can give them 60,000 votes each, the same number that the minority candidate has. If they attempted to vote for one, they would give that one candidate 120,000; but of course they would not throw away their votes in that foolish manner. The practical result would be that the 40,000 majority electors in that State would vote for two candidates and elect them, and the 20,000 minority electors would vote for one and elect him, and results analogous to this would occur all over the United States if this system were applied."



James Harlan

JAMES HARLAN.

AMES HARLAN was born in Illinois, August 26, 1820. At the age of three years, his parents removed with him to Indiana, where he was employed, during his minority, with his father in agricultural pursuits. In the year 1841 he entered the Preparatory Department of Asbury University, then under the presidency of the present Bishop Simpson. Upon meager means obtained by teaching at intervals, he managed to graduate at that institution with honor in 1845.

In the winter of 1845, being elected to the Professorship of Languages in Iowa City College, he removed to that city. Here, among strangers, he early won for himself an enviable reputation for industry, ability, and an unswerving integrity.

In 1847 he was elected by the people Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Iowa. This was no ordinary compliment to a young man who had resided in the State less than two years when the election occurred, especially when taken in connection with the fact that his opponent was the Hon. Charles Mason, who graduated at the head of his class at the Military Academy at West Point, had served as Chief-Justice of the Federal Court of the Territory during the entire period of its existence, was conceded by all parties to be a gentleman of ability and unblemished reputation, and who, as a candidate, was the choice of the party which had, up to this election, been uniformly triumphant in the State and Territory, and continued so until the Kansas-Nebraska issue, except when Mr. Harlan was a candidate.

In 1848, Mr. Harlan was superseded by Hon. Thomas H. Benton.

Jr., the officials insisting that the latter was elected by a majority of seventeen votes. The count, however, is now universally conceded to have been fraudulent. In this year he was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of law in Iowa City. In this profession, while he remained in it, he was eminently successful; but his friends were unwilling to leave him at the bar, however agreeable to him, or however brilliant his prospects for a distinguished career in the profession.

In 1850, the people, eager to trust and honor the young man who in every public position had proved himself worthy of their confidence, nominated him for Governor; but, not being of constitutional age for that office, he was compelled to disappoint them by declining the proffered honor.

Continuing in the practice of law until 1853, he was then, by the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, elected President of the Mount Pleasant Collegiate Institute, which during the winter following was re-organized with an amended Charter, under the name of the "IOWA WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY." His industry and energy, with his varied learning and strong sense, compelled the same success here that had attended all his undertakings thus far, and which has never since deserted him.

After two years of service at the head of the University, on the 6th of January, 1855, he was elected by the Iowa Legislature a United States Senator for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1855, and was admitted to his seat Dec. 3d following. Upon this election he resigned the presidency of the University, and was elected Professor of Political Economy and International Law.

His first formal speech in the Senate was made March 27th, 1856, on the admission of Kansas, and was regarded then, and must be held by the student of history hereafter, as one of the ablest arguments on the right and finally successful side of that great contest. Such men as Butler of South Carolina, Cass, Benjamin, Toucey, and Douglas soon learned to respect the sturdy logic of the young debater from the West. His speech upon the occasion of presenting the

memorial of James H. Lane, praying the acceptance of the memorial of the members of the Kansas Territorial Legislature for the admission of their Territory into the Union as a State, was a terrible denunciation of the great wrongs which the dominant party was inflicting on Kansas.

By a party vote, stimulated by this recent arraignment of the Democracy, it was, January 12th, 1857, resolved by the Senate, "That James Harlan is not entitled to his seat as a Senator from Iowa." The character of this decision may be understood from the following brief statement of facts: The Senate and House of Representatives of Iowa agreed to go into joint session to elect a Senator and Judges. After the joint session had met and adjourned from day to day for some time, it was discovered that the Whigs were about to be successful, and the Democratic Senators absented themselves for the purpose of preventing an election. A quorum of the joint session met, however, and a clear majority of both houses elected Mr. Harlan. Two years after, the matter was brought up on the protest of the Democratic members of the State Senate, and Mr. Harlan ousted as above stated. During these two years of peaceful occupation of his seat, a Presidential campaign was passed quietly, which might have been endangered by such party tyranny in the Senate, and Fremont made President—hence, no doubt, the delay.

But Mr. Harlan repaired immediately to Iowa City, where the State Legislature was in session. He arrived on Friday evening, and was re-elected on the day following. He spent a day or two at his home in Mount Pleasant, returned to Washington, was re-sworn, and resumed his seat on the 29th of the same month, only seventeen days after his expulsion.

In 1861 he was re-elected for a second Senatorial term without a dissenting voice among his party. During his entire service in the Senate, he has acted in harmony with the Republican party, which for four or five years was in a meager minority. He, however, commanded the respect of his political opponents by his modest and yet fearless and able support of the measures which his judgment and

conscience approved, by his unwearied industry in the examination of every subject of practical legislation, and by his evident honesty of purpose and integrity of character. The leading measures supported by the Republican party had few, if any, more able advocates, and none more efficient or successful either in the Senate or before the people. The published debates of Congress show that he argued and elucidated with great clearness and conclusiveness every phase of the question of slavery and emancipation, in all their social, legal, and economic ramifications.

He was the earnest advocate of the early construction of the Pacific Railroad, had made himself, by a careful examination, master of the whole subject, and was consequently appointed a member of the Senate Committee on the Pacific Railroad.

As Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands he exerted a controlling influence in shaping the policy of the Government in the disposition of the public domain, so as to aid in the construction of railroads and the improvement of other avenues of intercourse, as well as to advance the individual interests of the frontier settler by facilitating his acquisition of a landed estate, and also by securing a permanent fund for the support of common schools for the masses, and other institutions of learning. Under his guidance the laws for the survey, sale, and pre-emption of the public lands were harmonized, and the Homestead Bill so modified as to render it a practical and beneficent measure for the indigent settlers, and at the same time but slightly detrimental to the public treasury.

Immediately after he was placed upon the Senate Committee upon Indian Affairs, it became manifest that he had made himself master of that whole subject in all its details. He consequently exercised a leading influence on the legislation of Congress affecting our intercourse with these children of the forest; humanity and justice to them, as well as the safety of the frontier settlements from savage warfare, being with him cardinal elements to guide him in shaping the policy of the Government. The effect of the repeal, over Mr. Harlan's earnest protest, of the beneficent features of the Indian In-

terecourse laws, under the lead of Senator Hunter, which all admit laid the foundation for our recent Indian wars, furnishes a marked illustration of the safety of his counsels in these affairs.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, he was the earnest advocate of every measure calculated to develop and advance that great national interest, and prepared the only report marked by scientific research made on that subject by the Senate Committee during the last ten years. He gave his earnest support to the Agricultural College Bill, though in conflict with his views of the proper policy for the disposition of the public lands, because he regarded it as the only opportunity for laying firmly the foundation for these nurseries of scientific agriculture, which must prove of vast consequence for good to the whole people of this continent and the toiling millions of the Old World.

It is impossible in this brief narrative to reproduce even the substance of the many elaborate speeches made by him in the Senate and before the people. Among them may be mentioned as a sample of the whole, his speech in reply to Senator Hunter of Virginia, during the winter of 1860-61, immediately preceding the breaking out of the rebellion. This speech was characteristic in clearness, method, directness, force, and conclusiveness, and was regarded by his associates in the Senate as the great speech of the session. In the commencement he examines and exposes in their order every pretext for secession, and proceeds to charge upon the authors of the then incipient rebellion, with unsurpassed vigor and force, that the loss of political power was their real grievance. He indicated the impossibility of any compromise on the terms proposed by the Southern leaders without dishonor, and pointed out the means of an adjustment alike honorable to the South and North, requiring no retraction of principle on the part of any one, by admitting the Territories into the Union as States. He warned the South against a resort to an arbitrament of the sword; predicted the impossibility of their securing a division of the States of the Northwest from the Middle and New England States; the certainty and comparative dis-

patch with which an armed rebellion would be crushed, and concluded with a most powerful appeal to these conspirators not to plunge the country into such a sea of blood. Upon the conclusion of this speech, four-fifths of the Union Senators crowded around to congratulate him, and a state of excitement prevailed on the floor of the Senate for some moments such as had seldom before been witnessed in that body.

He was a member of the Peace Congress; but after seeing the members sent from the slave States, and witnessing the election of Ex-President John Tyler presiding officer, he predicted that its deliberations would end in a miserable failure.

He was also selected by the Union members of the House and Senate as a member of the Union Congressional Committee for the management of the Presidential campaign of 1864. Being the only member of the committee on the part of the Senate who devoted his whole time to this work, he became the active organ of the committee—organized an immense working force, regulated its finances with ability and unimpeachable fidelity, employed a large number of presses in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York in printing reading matter for the masses, which resulted in the distribution of many millions of documents among the people at home, and in all our great armies. To his labors, therefore, the country is doubtless largely indebted for the triumphant success of the Republican candidate.

In the month of March, 1865, Mr. Harlan was nominated by President Lincoln for the office of Secretary of the Interior, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate without reference to a committee. Resigning his seat in the Senate, he accepted the office, and on the 15th of May, entered upon the discharge of his duties as a member of President Johnson's cabinet.

His short administration of the Department of the Interior was characterized by untiring industry and earnest devotion to the public service. The gradual divergence of the line of policy adopted by the President from the principles of the Republican party, led Mr.

Harlan to sever his connection with the cabinet, by his resignation, which took effect September 1, 1866. Mr. Harlan left the office with the approval of the public for the course he had pursued, and the sincerely expressed regrets of the President himself.

Previous to his resignation of the office of Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Harlan had been re-elected by the Legislature of Iowa to a seat in the Senate of the United States, for the term commencing March 4, 1867.

On resuming his seat in the Senate, he was assigned to service in that body, on the Committees on the District of Columbia, Union Pacific Railroad, Post-Offices and Post Roads, and Foreign Relations, of the first of which he is Chairman. This Committee is one of the most laborious belonging to the Senate, having in charge all the public interests of the District; and in addition to the ordinary duties of the Committee, Mr. Harlan is now engaged, under the authority of a resolution of the Senate, in codifying the local laws of the District, a work that requires care, precision, and legal learning of no common order.

While Mr. Harlan, since his return to the Senate, has spoken on a variety of subjects, his principal efforts have been his speech on reconstruction, delivered on the 10th of February, 1868, and his opinion as a Senator in the Impeachment Trial of President Johnson. Of the former, it is not unjust to others to say, that no speech made during that long debate, presented the questions at issue in a clearer light, or in language better suited to the comprehension of the masses of the people. It received the warmest encomiums of Mr. Harlan's political associates in the Senate, and thousands of copies were subscribed for and circulated as a campaign document, by the members of the two houses of Congress. Of the opinion, it is sufficient to say, that it is a strictly legal document, applying the law to the facts as established by the evidence, and so clear and convincing that none can doubt the sincerity and uprightness of the vote which followed it.

Mr. Harlan is a man of strong political convictions. This is shown by the whole tenor of his political life. Early in life, long

before he occupied official station, he was identified, in feeling and principles, with the anti-slavery party of the nation. Almost at the outset of our late civil war, with the eye of a statesman, he foresaw that the rebellion could only result in the enfranchisement of the slaves of the South, and their elevation to the dignity of American citizens. So believing, he always acted consistently with that belief. He was among the first—if not *the* first—to advocate in the Senate the organization of the colored men everywhere in defense of the Union ; and since the close of the war, he has uniformly spoken and voted in favor of conferring upon them those rights of citizenship which they have honorably won by their endurance and bravery on the battlefield ; thus proving himself the worthy representative of a State which has just established impartial suffrage by the popular vote of its citizens.

In the Presidential campaign of 1868, Mr. Harlan took an active part in promoting the success of the Republican cause. To that end he addressed numerous and large audiences in the States of Pennsylvania, Iowa, Missouri, and Indiana. On the stump, Mr. Harlan is a popular and powerful speaker. Natural and graceful in his manner, candid in his presentation of facts, skillful in portraying whatever tends to arouse the human sensibilities, and logical in his mode of reasoning, he has few superiors as a popular orator.

Senator Harlan is in the prime of life, a Christian gentleman, a dignified Senator, of good habits, and in the enjoyment of vigorous health. He is an example to be admired and imitated by the young men of our country. As a youth he worked his way through college, acquiring an education in the face of trials and obstacles that would have deterred others from such an undertaking. As a man, by sterling integrity, a faithful discharge of his duties, and a close adherence to principle, he has earned the proud position he now occupies before the country, and in the affections of the people of his State. He is a bright exemplar of the benign influence of our free institutions, illustrating that, with energy and application, the poor and lowly may lift themselves up to the highest stations.



John Cornwell

JOHN CONNESS.



JOHN CONNESS is a native of Ireland, and was born in 1822. At thirteen years of age he came to this country, whither he had been preceded by some enterprising brothers. By their kindness he was favored with the advantages of academical education. Soon after arriving at manhood, he departed for California among the earliest emigrants to that country. There he devoted himself with success to mining and mercantile pursuits.

Turning his attention to politics, he was, in 1852, elected to the State Legislature, in which he held a seat during four successive terms. In 1859, he was a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor; and in 1861, he was the Union Democratic candidate for Governor. In 1863, he was elected a Senator in Congress from California for the term ending in 1869. He has served in the Senate on the Committees on Finance and the Pacific Railroad, Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining, and as a member also of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. Conness ranks among the efficient and active members of the Senate. The record clearly shows him to be vigilant and awake to all the great questions naturally passing in review before the Senate. His speeches are generally brief and to the point, giving evidence of excellent sense, and a fearless aim to accomplish what appears to him to be his duty as a legislator, regardless of favor or reproach. As illustrative of all this, we may select almost at random various passages from his speeches on different occasions.

Pending the question of dropping from the roll of the army unemployed general officers, Mr. Conness, January 6, 1865, submitted

the following remarks, which must impress the reader as both curious and interesting :

“Early in the conduct of this war, nominations for high ranks were easily obtained. The result was, that inefficient men—men unable and unfit to conduct our armies to victory and success—obtained the highest rank in the army ; and the consequences were losses in every direction to the national cause. Why, sir, at a certain period, during the last session of Congress, we desired a new Department Commander for the Pacific Department, and, anxious to send an officer there of good ability, of high military skill, that that country might be organized and prepared for an emergency likely to arise—possible, at least, to arise—I had several conferences with the Secretary of War ; I had an examination, with that officer, of the long list of unemployed major-generals and brigadier-generals then under the pay of the Government, and without public employment ; and if I were at liberty here to repeat the comment that followed the name of each in those various conferences, it would demonstrate the necessity of action somewhere to rid the country of the unnecessary and profitless burden that those gentlemen in high rank, holding high commissions under the Government, imposed upon it. It was five months before an officer deemed competent to send to that department could be selected, by the exercise of the greatest wisdom, from the long list of the then unemployed generals in the United States army.”

In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Conness has distinguished himself by the earnestness and ability with which he advocated measures designed to protect American citizens abroad. He successfully urged the passage of an “ Eight-Hour Law.” When this bill was pending in the Senate, he made a speech in which occurs the following passage :

“When I saw the column of Burnside, thirty thousand or forty thousand strong, marching through this city to the sanguinary fields between the Wilderness and Richmond and Cold Harbor, inclusive, and stood where I could see the eye of every man in the column,

I saw scarcely any but those who had the marks of toil and staid labor, black and white; and if I never before that time revered the men who labor, I should do it beginning at that period of my life; but it was not necessary for me to begin then.

"Now, Mr. President, there is considerable agitation in this country upon this question of whether a day's labor shall be constituted of eight or ten hours, and I have no doubt there are those who think if this bill be passed, and the example be set by the Government, the eight-hour rule will follow in other industries conducted in the country. Well, sir, I hope it will. A personal experience enables me to say that I could, myself, perform more labor in eight hours than in ten, taking any given week for the average; and then it gave more hours for study. Many and many a morning, at two o'clock, when I labored ten and eleven hours a day in my youth, found me yet endeavoring to enable myself to take my rank among my fellows in society; and I desire, by my vote and voice, if that can influence any one, to give an equal opportunity to the youths of the land connected with labor and toil. Let no man forget, because his task is made easy in this world, the thousands, the tens of thousands, and the hundreds of thousands who labor and toil for an ill requited compensation, for a small compensation scarcely sufficient to furnish bread, much less to enable them to educate their children and bring them up fit to be citizens of this Republic. Make their path as easy as you can, by limiting their hours of labor. Give them time to think."


As a specimen of effective "stump oratory," we quote the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Conness in Cooper Institute, New York, September 30, 1868, before an immense audience composed largely of Irish-Americans: "I come before you to-night, fellow-citizens, as one of yourselves, as one of a class of Americans denominated Irish-Americans. [Applause.] I will not say, I know I could not say, that there can be any title higher than that of an American citizen. [Applause.] And while some of us may be denominated, and may be better known as Irish-Americans, it

should be our boast peculiarly that we are Americans, and Americans alone—[Applause]—not forgetting our origin, not forgetting the trials of the land we came from, and the race from which we sprang, for that but sharpens the mental appetite for liberty, as we find it established here,—[Cheers]—but as American citizens simply, owning a part in the great cause of the Republic established by the fathers, and maintained by their sons, to go down, I trust, to all posterity for ever. [Applause.] We have a high title in having a part in that cause, and in being known as American citizens. [Cheers.] The American people, in a short time, are to determine who shall be the Executive, to give to the Republic a guardian of its interests; a safeguard, so far as an Executive can be such, to the principles upon which the Republic is founded, and we are to replace the man now filling that station by an accident—[Laughter and cheers]—with not only the greatest military leader of the world, but, greater than his military leadership, one of the simplest and the most virtuous citizens of America—a man who advanced, as he need not have done—and yet 'twas well done—that he is not to have a policy against at once the intelligence and the virtue of the American people—[Applause]—but whose policy, if he is elected President, will be to give reality and effect to that intelligence and virtue. [Cheers.] What is to be tried, and what is being tried, in the contest that is now going on for the Presidential office is, whether, after the nation, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives, and thousands of millions of treasure, maintained intact the national integrity—whether that integrity shall be continuously maintained, and, in addition, whether the great principles of liberty, law and humanity, vindicated and re-established by our grand successes against rebellion, shall also be maintained, and also whether, in addition still, the measures that the American people have found it necessary to enact to maintain the condition of things shall be carried out.”



R. Doolittle

JAMES R. DOOLITTLE.

HE ancestry of the subject of this sketch is part English, part Irish, and part Scotch. The paternal line was entirely English, and in early times it was connected with the Puritans in England. On the mother's side the ancestors were Presbyterians from the north of Ireland. His parents were born in New England, but early in life they removed to the village of Hampton, Washington County, in the State of New York, where James R. Doolittle was born, January 3, 1815. Four years after his birth his parents removed to Wethersfield Springs, in Wyoming County. At that time this part of the country was a wilderness. But the father, a man of great energy and prudence, was not long in acquiring property and influence in the community which grew up around him. Although without the advantage of a college education, he was always an earnest advocate of schools. He possessed a well balanced mind, firm religious principles and liberal views, and was the first to establish an Episcopal church at Wethersfield.

At the age of fifteen, young Doolittle entered college at Geneva, New York, and four years later graduated with the honors of his class. At school he was especially proficient in Mathematics and Greek. Even at that time he had developed unusual oratorical talent in the debating societies connected with the institution.

After leaving college, he read law with Isaac Hill of Rochester. During the three years of legal study then required before admission to the bar, he sometimes taught Mathematics, Greek, and Elocution. In 1836, he was admitted to practice law in the State of New York, and soon after was married to Miss Mary L. Cutting, of Warsaw. He established himself in Rochester, where he remained for two years.

The illness of a brother, which afterwards terminated in death, induced him to return to Wyoming County. There continuing in the practice of his profession, he was elected District-Attorney in 1845, in a county largely opposed to him in politics. He performed the duties of the office with ability, and to the satisfaction of his constituents.

In the year 1851, at the age of thirty-six, he removed with his family to Wisconsin, and took up his residence at Racine, which has since that time been his home. In a new State, surrounded by young and active men, he soon distinguished himself. He was employed by the Governor of Wisconsin to take charge of several cases for the State; on the ground, as the Governor said, that Mr. Doolittle was a man of ability, and could not be bought. He was successful in obtaining decisions in favor of the State. In 1853, he was chosen Judge of the First Judicial District of Wisconsin, but resigned in 1856, to resume the practice of the law.

At this time the country was agitated by the troubles in Kansas. The Democratic party, then in control of the Government, lent itself to the establishing of slavery in that Territory. When this course had been decided upon, he left the Democratic party, and assisted in the organization of the Republican party. The State of Wisconsin voted for Fremont, but Mr. Buchanan was elected President.

In 1857, the Legislature of Wisconsin elected Mr. Doolittle to the Senate of the United States, and in 1863 he was re-elected to the same position. In 1860, he sustained Mr. Lincoln; and in 1864 aided his re-election to the Presidency.

For many years he was chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, and gave direction to the Indian policy of the Government. Always opposed to harsh measures, he sought to avert conflicts and to establish peaceful relations between the races on the frontier. In 1865, Congress appointed a joint committee to visit the Indian country, and ascertain the necessities of the situation. Mr. Doolittle was chosen chairman, and in this capacity, with Senator Foster and Hon. Lewis Ross of the House, as one portion of the Commission, visited the Indians of New Mexico, Colorado, and the

Plains. One result of this enterprise was the prevention of a war with the numerous nation of Camanches, by restraining one of our ambitious brigadier-generals from marching his troops across the Arkansas with the purpose of inaugurating hostilities. This one thing saved the Government at least thirty millions of dollars. An incident occurred at Denver in Colorado, which illustrates the character of the subject of this sketch. He was invited to address the people on Indian Affairs, for his views had much to do in determining the policy of the Government in that regard. It was only a few months after the Sand Creek massacre, where peaceable Cheyenne Indians of both sexes, old and young, had been slaughtered by wholesale at the instigation of Colonel Chivington. The meeting was held in the theater which only a short time before had been decorated with the scalps of more than a hundred Cheyennes, as trophies of the slaughter.

Mr. Doolittle commenced his speech, but had not proceeded far before announcing the opinion that the Indians should be treated with kindness and fairness, and allowed to pass away from the face of the earth in peace, and not exterminated by the whites. This opinion was no sooner stated than the whole audience raised a howl of rage, rose to their feet, some of them brandishing pistols, and tried to hiss the speaker from the stage. But they had mistaken the man. He folded his arms and gazed with cool defiance at the infuriated mass. They fired no shots, but in silence and awe soon resumed their seats, struck dumb by the courage and self-possession of the man. The speaker continued his remarks without further interruption, and did not spare the feelings or the prejudices of his audience. No man, unless possessed of physical and moral courage, could have braved such a storm of passion.

In dealing with the negro question, which for more than a quarter of a century has engrossed the attention of statesmen, and agitated and disturbed the country, he has maintained the theories of Jefferson, in which he was schooled in youth. He has always opposed slavery and its extension, and favored a gradual separation of the races by colonization or any other peaceful means. During a public

life of twenty-five years, he has never swerved from those fundamental ideas. Always a Democrat, when his party did not attempt or connive at the extension of slavery, yet when any such attempt was made, he was always among the first to break from his party. In 1848, he was a Free-Soil Democrat. In 1856, when an attempt was made to force slavery into the Territory of Kansas, he abandoned the Democratic party in the pride of its power, and became a Republican. Before the Rebellion broke out, he often urged the Southern leaders to adopt a system of gradually colonizing the negroes of the South in Central America, and thus remove the only cause which was disturbing the peace of the country. But his admonitions were unheeded, as well by the extreme Republicans as by the men of the South. The same plan which Henry Clay had advocated, without material success, was again rejected, and the almost inevitable sequence, in the excited condition of the public mind, was civil war. The attempt to avert the impending conflict met with but little favor. And yet it is doubtful whether any other course could long have postponed the collision which followed.

During the war, Mr. Doolittle was a zealous supporter of the Union cause, and labored in the Senate, and before the people, to accomplish its triumph. After the overthrow of the Rebellion, he favored a policy of magnanimity towards the South, and sought to lessen the bitterness existing between the two sections, and allay the angry passions which the war had aroused. His voice has been heard pleading in eloquent tones for mercy to the vanquished, and pointing out the evils, present and future, of continuing the animosities of civil strife. Although much censured for this course, deserted by many of his best friends, and charged with ignoble motives, he has held his course without faltering, feeling that it was his duty, and trusting in the returning reason of his fellow-countrymen, at a future day, for his vindication. The advocates of leniency and magnanimity always are commended when the wild storm of passion has abated, and the clear light of reason breaks through the vanishing clouds.

As a member of the High Court of Impeachment, Mr. Doolittle

voted to acquit the President. During the consultation of the Senate, before the rendition of the verdict, he delivered an oral "opinion" on the case, of which the following is the closing paragraph:

"Sir, much may be forgiven, much must be forgiven in times of high party excitement, for the judicial blindness which it begets. But when this temporary and frenzied excitement shall have passed away, as pass it will, and when men shall carefully review this case and all the evidence given on this trial, their surprise will be, not that a few Republican Senators can rise above party prejudice and refuse to be driven from their clear convictions by party furor, but their utter astonishment will be, that any respectable Senator should ever for one moment have entertained the thought of convicting the President of the United States of a high crime or a misdemeanor upon the charges and evidence produced upon this trial."

As a public man, Mr. Doolittle is a statesman rather than a partisan. He has never felt himself bound to support party measures when he regarded them as prejudicial to the interests of the nation. Thoroughly a man of principle, in his daily life he conforms strictly to his convictions of duty. At times he seems to hesitate, but it is only for a moment. When convinced that a certain course is right, he assumes it without fear of consequences, and urges it with untiring zeal and unvarying consistency.

In a recent speech, delivered in the Senate, Mr. Howe, of Wisconsin, bore honorable testimony to Mr. Doolittle's integrity of character. "My colleague," said he, "has been a citizen of the State of Wisconsin since sometime about 1850 or 1851. He was for many years a leading lawyer in that State, very widely known to the profession, enjoying a very large practice. He was four or five years a Judge of the Circuit Court in that State, before he came to the Senate. I knew him for almost the whole time very well, personally and by reputation, and I have great personal satisfaction in saying here, and I think it is due to the State that I should say it, that in all that time I never heard the slightest imputation cast upon him, either for the conduct of business in the Courts over which he presided, or for

the relations existing between him and his clients—never a whisper which could excite in the mind of any one a suspicion of his venality or corruption.”

As an orator, Mr. Doolittle has a high reputation, which is well deserved. His speeches possess much argumentative force, graceful imagery, and frequent eloquence. His manner is earnest and dignified, his utterance is deliberate and distinct, without apparent effort.

Public men are praised more for their eloquence, wit, intellectual strength, and engaging manners, than for purity of character. But in forming a correct estimate of the character of a public man, private virtues, no less than public, should be taken into consideration. In this respect, the subject of this sketch will bear close scrutiny. In early manhood, he embraced the teachings of Christianity, and has lived a consistent, religious life. He is free from intemperance, and all its kindred vices.



A H Cragin

AARON H. CRAGIN.



AARON H. CRAGIN was born in Weston, Vermont, February 3, 1821. He is of Scotch descent, one of his ancestors being John Cragin, who was among the prisoners taken by Cromwell at the great battle of Dunbar, September 3, 1650, and banished to America.

Aaron worked at farming and in a woolen mill until he became of age. His education was principally acquired at "Burr Seminary," Manchester, Vermont, and at the "Lebanon Liberal Institute," at Lebanon, N. H. Having finished his studies at the academy, he returned to his native town of Weston, and entered at once upon the study of law. He afterwards spent two years in law studies at Albany, New York, and was admitted to the bar in New York City, in the fall of 1847. The same year he moved to Lebanon, N. H., and commenced the practice of his profession.

In 1848, Mr. Cragin took an active part in the canvass for Gen. Taylor, and was an associate editor of the *Granite State Whig*, published at Lebanon. In 1852, he was on the electoral ticket for Scott and Graham, and made numerous speeches in behalf of those candidates. In the years of 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1859, he was a member of the New Hampshire legislature. He was elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress, a representative from the Third Congressional District of New Hampshire, by a majority of 3,000; although this District, before that time, had been strongly Democratic. He was re-elected in 1857, and served through the Thirty-fifth Congress.

Mr. Cragin was a delegate at large from New Hampshire to the Republican Convention at Chicago, in 1860, and voted first and last

for Abraham Lincoln, and supported him upon the stump in every county in New Hampshire.

In June, 1864, he was elected to the United States Senate for the full term of six years, as the successor of John P. Hale.

Mr. Cragin is a staunch and able advocate of the measures enacted by Congress for the reconstruction of the Southern States.

On the 30th of January, 1868, he delivered an address in the Senate, in which he presented an able review of the Reconstruction acts, and the usurpation of Andrew Johnson. The speech closes with the following eloquent passage :

"The Republican party, sir, is the people's party. It is the hope of the country and the anchor of its freedom. It is the representative of the true democratic sentiment of the country. It bears aloft the banner of liberty, and pleads for those rights of human nature which God has given to man. It swears by the Declaration of Independence, and acknowledges the manhood of the whole human race. It teaches the great Christian democratic doctrine that 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' It knows no baseness, cowers at no danger, oppresses no weakness. Generous and humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor, and sympathizes with the humble. It asks nothing but what it concedes, and concedes nothing but what it demands. Destructive only to despotism and treason, it is the sole conservator of liberty, labor, and property. It cherishes the sentiment of universal freedom, of equal rights, and equal obligations. It sides with the weak and the down-trodden, and sympathizes with every effort to elevate the people and better their condition. A true Republican, while claiming an equality with the best, seorns any political immunities not accorded to the humblest of his fellows. The ark of our national salvation rests upon the shoulders of the men composing this party. I pray that they may be patient and strong, bold and prudent, patriotic and just, devout and self-sacrificing, and resolute and mighty, that we may transmit to uncounted millions and unborn generations the blessings of free, democratic government."

On the 30th of July, 1868, the bill for funding the national debt being the subject of consideration in the Senate, Mr. Cragin made a speech, of which the following is an extract :

"I am for this bill for another reason—because it puts further off the time for the payment of this large debt. A very large amount of this debt is now due, if the Government chooses to pay it. It cannot be paid without crushing the people with taxation. It should not and must not be done. The debts incurred by the States, counties, and towns, for the patriotic purpose of prosecuting the war for the Union, are very great. Indeed, they are more than the people ought to be called upon to pay in the next twenty years. The resources of this country are almost beyond calculation.

"The wealth of the nation is increasing more than three times as fast as its population. The individual wealth of the people is increasing annually more than the total amount of the national debt. In 1860, our aggregate wealth, not including property owned by the United States or by any State, was over sixteen thousand million dollars, being an increase of one hundred and twenty-six and a half per cent. over that of 1850. The increase of our population was only about thirty-five per cent. Supposing we increase one hundred per cent. during each ten years in the future up to 1900, the result will astonish the world. In 1870, our national wealth will be over thirty-two thousand million dollars ; in 1880, over sixty-four thousand million dollars ; in 1890, over one hundred and twenty-eight thousand million dollars ; and in 1900, over two hundred and fifty thousand million dollars, or more than eight times what it now is. The people can then pay eight dollars as easy as they can pay one now. This generation has paid largely in life, toil, and treasure, for the blessings we now enjoy. If we transmit them to a future generation unimpaired, they should pay the national debt that now hangs over us, as their price for the legacy of liberty and human rights."

On the occasion of the presentation of the credentials of Hon. Frederick A. Sawyer, Senator elect from South Carolina, it was proposed to refer them to the Judiciary Committee, that investigations

might be made of certain charges of disloyalty. Mr. Cragin opposed such reference, and said :

“ Probably I am as well acquainted with the facts and circumstances connected with Mr. Sawyer as any Senator on this floor. He went from my State to South Carolina in 1859, and with the exception of about four months he has been domiciled there ever since ; and those four months were in 1864, when he escaped and went to New England, and there stumped several of the New England States for the re-election of Abraham Lincoln. Is there anything in that parallel with the case of Thomas of Maryland, whose credentials were referred to the Judiciary Committee ? Not at all. I have it within my personal knowledge, and from friends whom I know to be truthful, that all the time Mr. Sawyer was in Charleston, during the rebellion, he was a warm, earnest, devoted friend of the Union. I know that, in 1863, during the darkest hours of the war, he wrote private letters, and got them through the lines in some way, to friends in New Hampshire and elsewhere, urging them to remain firm, to have courage, that the rebellion was about tottering, and would fall to the ground. Since the passage of the Reconstruction acts, he has been a leading advocate for reconstruction. By his pen, by his money, by everything that God has given him, he has devoted himself to reconstruction, and has worked earnestly and zealously. These charges that are made against him here to-day are charges that have been trumped up since his election or the day before, to defeat him. He is as loyal a man as sits in this Chamber. I hope the case will not be referred to the Judiciary Committee, but that he may now be admitted to take the oath.”



W. J. Willey

WAITMAN T. WILLEY.



WAITMAN T. WILLEY was born in the county of Mongalia, Virginia, October 18, 1811. His birthplace was a "log cabin, just twenty feet square."

As soon as the little boy could well walk, he was put to work upon the farm until he was twelve years old—receiving, meanwhile, eight or ten months of schooling in a country school-house. From twelve to sixteen years of age—with the exception of tuition at a grammar school for two months—he continued at hard work upon his father's farm, at the end of which time he went to Madison College. He was distinguished in college by industry as a student, and success as scholar, and at the end of his four years' course was graduated with the highest honors of his class, and was pronounced by the trustees of the institution as "well entitled to that honor."

In the following year, Mr. Willey—being yet under twenty-one years of age—commenced the study of law at Wellsbury, Virginia. He was admitted to the bar in 1833. As a lawyer he was successful, and soon secured a good and reputable practice. In 1840, he was a candidate for the State legislature. He was also on the Whig electoral ticket, and made forty speeches in behalf of his candidate. In 1841, in one and the same month, he was made Clerk of Mongalia County Court and of the Supreme Court. In 1850, he was elected a member of the Convention for re-forming the constitution of Virginia. In this Convention, Mr. Willey sustained a very prominent part. His speeches, which were somewhat numerous, were of decided ability, and were highly complimented, even by those whose views differed from his own. "He is," writes one of these, "a man of fine attainments, extensive reading, and high moral

character; a bold thinker, an energetic and earnest speaker." His speech in this Convention, in favor of representation based upon suffrage, was deemed the best that was delivered on that side of this important question. In concluding this great speech, having alluded in glowing terms to the progress of popular liberty in the world, he adds this noble peroration:

"And yet, in the midst of all this, in the middle of the nineteenth century, beneath the noontide effulgence of this great principle of popular supremacy, a voice is heard in old Virginia, rising from almost the spot where the clarion voice of Henry awoke a nation to freedom, when he exclaimed, 'Give me liberty or give me death'—even here, where we should take off our shoes, for the earth on which we walk is holy—bearing in its consecrated bosom the remains of George Mason and Thomas Jefferson, the one the author of the Declaration of Independence, the other of the Virginia Bill of Rights—even here, a demand is made by honorable gentlemen to give superior political power to the property-holder, and virtually invest goods and chattels with the prerogative of legislating upon the rights and liberties of a vast majority of the people of this Commonwealth! I trust this can never take place."

In 1852, Mr. Willey was a Whig candidate for Congress, with no expectation of election, but to bring out a full Whig vote for General Scott.

At the State Convention of the Whig party, February 10, 1858, Mr. Willey was nominated as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Alluding to this nomination, the Richmond *Whig* represented Mr. Willey as "one of the ablest and most eloquent men in Virginia," and "universally esteemed and popular." The Baltimore *Patriot* added: "A stronger name has never been presented to the freemen of Virginia. The name of Waitman T. Willey is a household word throughout the entire Northwest. A distinguished lawyer, with a reputation without a stain, his name upon the ticket secures at least five thousand votes that might have been considered doubtful."

In the canvass, Mr. Willey addressed the people daily until the

election, and was everywhere acknowledged as a statesman, a patriot, an honest man, and an exemplary Christian. In the election he carried his own county, although his ticket ran behind.

In 1860, Mr. Willey, as might be expected, was exerting himself continually for the Union, and to strengthen the union sentiment of the State. In January, he published a long article for distribution on the general subject of disunion and secession. "Why, therefore," he writes, "should we madly rush into the perils of disunion? Our country was never more thrifty and prosperous, and what but the national Union secured to us all this happiness and prosperity? I shudder whenever I think of disunion. It does appear to me that some of our leaders, like the incendiary Erostratus, are aspiring after the infamous immortality which must eternally be attached to the names of the destroyers of the fairest fabric of national government ever devised by man, or bestowed on him by heaven."

In the winter of 1860-61, Mr. Willey was elected to a seat in the Richmond Convention, which resulted in the secession of Virginia. Referring to this Convention, he writes: "If the journal and proceedings of that body ever come to light, they will show how faithfully I resisted that terrible disaster."

In July, 1861, he was elected by the reorganized legislature of Virginia, sitting at Wheeling, to the United States Senate, and took his seat in that body during the special session of Congress then in progress. Also, in the fall of this year, he was a member of the Constitutional Convention assembled at Wheeling, to ordain a constitution for the proposed new State of West Virginia.

The attitude of Mr. Willey in the United States Senate, at this most trying crisis, was eminently just, enlightened, and patriotic, and worthy of Virginia in its wiser and better days.

"We may, with equal confidence," said he, "challenge a more minute examination of the policy and administration of the General Government affecting the States in rebellion. And here I do but allege what the records of the country will amply attest, when I say that in the bestowment of official patronage and emolument and posi-

tion in every branch of the Government, the South has ever enjoyed an eminently liberal proportion of favor. The journals and acts of Congress will verify the assertion that every important measure of national policy has either originated with Southern statesmen, or has been made, sooner or later, essentially to conform to the demands of Southern sentiment. This is a broad assertion, but it is true. The South has always exercised a controlling influence in the councils of the Republic. She has had more than an equal share of Presidents; she has had more than a fair proportion of appointments in the Cabinet; the Supreme Court has been adorned with a full quota of her eminent jurists; the *corps diplomatique* has had no just cause of complaint for the want of representatives from south of Mason and Dixon's line; and the glorious annals of our army and navy attest on every page the valor and skill of Southern chieftains."

After unfolding the Southern conspiracy, he said: "Sir, truth will ere long strip these conspirators naked before the world, and the people whom they have so cruelly misled will rise up and curse them. History—impartial history—will arraign and condemn them to universal contempt. It will hold them responsible before man and God for the direful consequences already brought upon the country, and for the evils yet to come—for the desolations of war, its pillage and rapine, and blood, and carnage, and crime, and widowhood, and orphanage, and all its sorrows and disasters."

Mr. Willey, then and always, insisted upon the impossibility of dismemberment. "Sir," said he, "this Union cannot be dissolved. Nature and providence forbid it. Our rivers, and lakes, mountains, and the whole geographical conformation of the country rebuke the treason that would sever them. Our diversities of climate and soil and staple production do but make each section necessary to the other. Science and art have annihilated distance, and brought the whole family of States into close propinquity and constant and easy intercourse. We are one people in language, in law, in religion, and destiny. 'Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.' The past is glorious; the future shall be sublime."

Mr. Willey, at the same session of the Senate, in an able and appropriate speech, gave a full and minute history of the new State matter, on the application of West Virginia for admission into the Union as a State. He met every objection, satisfied every reasonable doubt, and secured an early, favorable, and unanimous report from the committee, its triumphant and speedy passage through the Senate, and eventually through the House, until it received the sanction of the President.

The new State having been admitted, Mr. Willey in August, 1863, was elected one of the United States Senators from West Virginia. He drew the short term of two years, before the expiration of which he was re-elected for the term ending in 1871.

Thus far we have contemplated Mr. Willey in scarcely more than a single phase of his character, while to pause here would leave this sketch but half completed. Not only has he sustained an eminent reputation as a lawyer and statesman, but he has all along stood before the public as a Christian and a philanthropist. The very beginning of his professional life demonstrates the transparent integrity of his character. At thirty years of age, he writes :

"I was poor when I started ; I am comparatively poor still. I was honest when I started, and, thank God, I am honest still. I would not give the consciousness of honesty and integrity for all the honors of ill-gotten gain." Elsewhere he adds, on occasion of somewhat straitened circumstances : "Poverty is far more desirable than ill-gotten wealth. I will live honest, if I die poor. I will live an honorable man, if I die in obscurity. I would not exchange the approbation of a good conscience for the hoards of Cræsus. I would not relinquish the pleasure and exalted happiness of conscious integrity for the crown of an emperor."

Mr. Willey is an active member of the Methodist Church, and his church connection seems early to have been with him a matter of gratulation and thanksgiving ; while his religious experience, so far as it has been apparent to the eye of strangers, bears the marks of deep sincerity and genuineness. In 1853, we find him delivering a

series of lectures on the "Spirit and Progress" of that branch of the church of which he is a member; wherein, among other things, he discusses the importance of an earnest faith in connection with the performance of Christian duty. Alluding to these lectures, the public prints alleged, and doubtless with much truth, that "he would fill a pulpit with no ordinary ability."

The cause of Temperance has ever held a warm place in the affections of Mr. Willey. He was early a member of various associations, here and there, for the promotion of this great enterprise. In 1853, he was, by the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance of West Virginia, elected their lecturer on "Temperance and Legal Prohibition."


We find him also deeply interested in Sabbath-schools, and he is himself a Sabbath-school teacher. So likewise has the great missionary enterprise always enlisted his sympathies, commended itself to his judgment, and called forth his eloquence. Thus, he is not one of those lights that are hid under a bushel. At Washington, Mr. Willey has preserved his consistency. He has been here the friend of temperance, missions, the Sabbath-school, and every good work. The *National Intelligencer* says of him: "He devotes his hours of leisure from legislative duties in furtherance of good objects here. His late speech at the Foundry Church on Sunday afternoon on Sunday-schools, will not soon fade from the mind of any one present on the occasion."

More effective still seems to have been an address, delivered at Philadelphia, on a missionary occasion, when, in the course of his speech, he read various extracts from the highest authorities, illustrating the elevating power of the Gospel upon heathen nations. He further insisted that it was the best civilizing agency that was ever employed—that Magna Charta was not found at Runnymede, nor the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia; but that both of these immortal documents were traceable to the Bible.



S. C. Pursey

SAMUEL C. POMEROY.

 SAMUEL C. POMEROY was born in South Hampton, Massachusetts, January 3, 1816, and his boyhood was spent upon his father's farm. In 1836, he entered Amherst College; but at the end of two years, leaving college, he went to reside in Monroe County, New York, where he continued about four years. He then returned to his native town of South Hampton.

In 1840, during the time of his residence in the State of New York, he heard that remarkable man, Alvan Stewart, on the subject of slavery, was deeply impressed with his eloquence, became a ready convert to anti-slavery principles, and began at once to labor zealously to promote them.

His first effort seemed rather discouraging. Proposing to organize a county liberty party, he issued a call for a meeting to be held at the county seat. On arriving at the place of meeting on the day appointed, after a ride of twenty miles in his own wagon, he found an audience of just two persons beside himself. After waiting an hour for other arrivals, and waiting in vain, nothing daunted, he called the meeting to order, one of the audience taking the chair, and the other acting as secretary. Mr. Pomeroy then delivered his speech, after which resolutions were presented and adopted, and a county ticket formed, which received at the election *seven* votes in a population of twenty thousand. In six years afterwards, however, the liberty party ticket of this same county carried the election.

Returning to South Hampton, as we have seen, in 1842, Mr. Pomeroy, by his zealous efforts, had the satisfaction of seeing constantly increasing members added to the new party. He lectured in school-

houses—preached from house to house—met objections—answered arguments—softened down prejudices, and made converts everywhere. Year by year the work prospered, and though slow, it was sure; for victory, at last, crowned his efforts. Annually, for eight years, he was on the anti-slavery ticket for the Massachusetts legislature, but was unsuccessful until 1852, when he was elected over both Whigs and Democrats. His characteristic anti-slavery zeal he boldly carried with him into the legislature. On the occasion of the rendition of the slave Burns to his assumed owner, he gave utterance to the following burst of eloquence:

“Sir,” said he, addressing the Speaker, “when you have another man to enslave, do it as you did before, in the gray of the early morning. Don’t let in the light of the brighter day upon the scene, for the sun would blush, if you did not, and turn his face away to weep. What! return a man to hopeless slavery! to a condition darker than death, and more damning than perdition! Death and the grave are not without their hope; light from the hill-tops of immortality cross the darkness and bid the sleepers awake, and live, and hope; and perdition with its unyielding grasp has no claims upon a man’s posterity. But remorseless slavery swallows up not the man alone, but his hapless offspring through unending generations, for ever and for evermore!”

About the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, Mr. Pomeroy was in Washington, and his call upon President Pierce happened to be at the very hour of his signing it. It is said, in fact, that the ink was not yet dry upon the parchment when Mr. Pomeroy addressed the President in these prophetic words:

“Sir, this measure which has passed is not the triumph you suppose. It does not end, but only commences hostilities. Slavery is victorious in Congress, but it has not yet triumphed among the people. Your victory is but an adjournment of the question from the halls of legislation at Washington to the open prairies of the freedom-loving West; and there, Sir, we shall beat you, depend upon it!”

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act at once “fired the heart”

of the North. "Emigration to Kansas!" became a sort of watchword far and near. Freedom-loving men and women everywhere realized, for the first time, how much they were individually capable of doing. Organized emigration was at once initiated by the genius of Eli Thayer, who, under a charter obtained from the Massachusetts legislature, organized the "New England Emigrant Aid Company." In this enterprise, Mr. Thayer was ably seconded by Mr. Pomeroy, who discerned at a glance the value and practical nature of the idea. Of this company he immediately became the financial and general agent, taking an active part in procuring and distributing all necessary information relating to the history, soil, climate, distance, etc., of Kansas, together with rents, time of passage, and expense for reaching there. Moreover, he lectured extensively, and by word and deed stimulated all who could make the sacrifice to emigrate to Kansas, and offered himself to be their Moses to conduct them to the promised land.

It was on the 27th of August, 1854, that the first band of emigrants, under the leadership of Mr. Pomeroy, and numbering two hundred, started from Boston for the far West. At various points on their way, they received the greetings and sympathies of warm-hearted and earnest men and women, like themselves, who bade them God-speed with many prayers, tears, and benedictions. On the 6th of September they came to Kansas City, Missouri, on the borders of the great land whither they were destined; and passing up the Kansas River, they pitched their tents at the end of three days' journey, and gave the name of *Lawrence* to the place of their sojourn. Another colony soon followed, whom Mr. Pomeroy met at St. Louis, and conducted them forward; and in November another still came on, and were likewise met and guided by him into the Territory. Meanwhile, Gov. Reed and other appointed officials came on to administer the government of the new Territory, and, in behalf of the emigrants, were welcomed by Mr. Pomeroy in such words as these:

"We welcome you to these rude homes of ours in the wilderness, which we have journeyed many weary miles to make, not because we look for better or for happier ones than we have left behind, but be-

cause we intend, in good faith, to meet the issues of the hour. In the spirit of the act which reclaims these territories from savage haunts, and organizes them into homes for civilized men, we came to do our share in the work necessary to accomplish it. In pursuance of this object, and in imitation of those who sought liberty with the *Mayflower*, we came bringing with us, as they did with them, the institutions of our faith and our freedom—our churches and our schools. With the Bible in one hand, and the school-book in the other, we propose to make this ‘wilderness to bud and blossom as the rose.’ This Bible we lay upon the altar of a free church—this primer upon the desk of a free school, and may the God of our Pilgrim Fathers aid us in the work!”

The limits of this sketch do not permit us to tell of the inroads of Southern banditti that followed this emigration—of their guns, bowie-knives, and whiskey—of how slavery sought eagerly to gain possession of the fair land of Kansas—how, for this purpose, and under the auspices of a weak and wicked administration of the General Government, it promptly introduced its hideous machinery of outrages, murders, house-breakings, and robberies.

Amid the disturbance and violence of this stormy year of 1856, Mr. Pomeroy was called upon to prove his fidelity to truth, and his courage in maintaining principle. Beaten, arrested, and twice imprisoned, threatened with death, and sentenced by a mob to be hung, he still escaped to complete the work yet remaining to be done. We find him in Washington conferring with the prospective Governor of Kansas—lecturing in various places in the East in its behalf—rallying and shipping Sharpe’s rifles—forwarding ammunition, and thus variously preparing for the worst. But peace came soon, and 1857 opened auspiciously for the new Territory.

Thus far the career of Mr. Pomeroy had been that of a philanthropist. His political career now commences, and it commences with his righteous opposition to the infamous “Leecompton Constitution.” Against this he fought day and night, and by addresses and public lectures, not only throughout Kansas, but the Northern States,

until in 1858 Congress sent the swindle to the "tomb of the Capulets."

Along this period we have Mr. Pomeroy as Mayor of Atchison—as establishing the first free school of that town—building with his own private means a brick church, and presenting it to the Congregationalists—and entering heartily into plans for the relief of Kansas amid the terrible drought and famine of 1860.

It was in connection with this last-named effort that the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Pomeroy's character shone forth as conspicuously as in any other of his labors and sacrifices. Said he, at this time, to an intimate friend: "You know I intend to be a candidate for the United States Senate, and if I go into this relief business, it is certain to kill me; for every dollar that passes through my hands is sure to make an enemy of somebody. Some who don't need, will grumble because I refuse them; others who are helped, will be dissatisfied because I do not give them more; and my political enemies will make every mistake tell against me, whether it be mine or the fault of somebody else. They will lie about me in every way they can, and the result of the whole business will be, so far as the United States Senatorship is concerned, that I shall be killed as dead as Julius Caesar. But still, if this people are in danger of suffering again, I mean to go in and help them anyhow, and let my political prospects go, and trust to God for the result;" and Mr. Pomeroy proved by the result of his confidence, that "Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." Accordingly, after aiding most efficiently in ministering the ample relief that flowed into Kansas from ten thousand benevolent hands, so well satisfied with him were the people, that they placed him, forthwith, in the United States Senate, where he took his seat at the extra session, which met July 4, 1861. In 1867 Mr. Pomeroy was re-elected for the Senatorial term ending 1873.

It seems quite unnecessary to write that Mr. Pomeroy's entire career in the Senate has been what might be expected from the antecedents of the man. The very first measure introduced by him was precisely characteristic, and was a "Bill to suppress the Slaveholders'

Rebellion." The very wording of the title evinces the intention of the author, which was to place the Rebellion directly at the door of the guilty party. His entire Congressional record, we believe, has been correspondent—all his speeches and votes have been eminently patriotic—and the true interests of the country have ever lain near his heart.

On the 5th of March, 1866, Mr. Pomeroy, advocating universal suffrage by Congressional enactment, which he maintained was "nothing less than throwing about all men the essential safeguards of the Constitution," used the following language: "Let us not take counsel of our fears, but of our hopes; not of our enemies, but of our friends. By all the memories which cluster about the pathway in which we have been led; by all the sacrifices, blood, and tears of the conflict; by all the hopes of a freed country and a disenthralled race; yea, as a legacy for mankind, let us now secure a free representative republic, based upon impartial suffrage and that human equality made clear in the Declaration of Independence. To this entertainment let us invite our countrymen and all nations, committing our work, when done, to the verdict of posterity and the blessing of Almighty God."

One of Mr. Pomeroy's friends has graphically said: "True to principle, true to his convictions, true to his country, and terribly true to his country's foes, he occupies to-day, as Senator of the United States, a proud position among his peers—a position that honors both representative and the represented. As a patriot, he is earnest; as a statesman, logical; as a politician, consistent; and as a man, genial, generous, and just."



W. P. Fessenden

WILLIAM P. FESSENDEN.



WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN, a son of the Hon. Samuel Fessenden, was born in Boscawen, N. H., October 16, 1806. Before he reached his twelfth year, he was fitted for college under the tutorship of a law student in his father's office, and at the age of seventeen was graduated at Bowdoin College, in the class of 1823. He immediately commenced the study of law, and in 1827, at the age of twenty-one, was admitted to the Portland bar. He immediately opened an office in Bridgeton, Me., and in 1829 removed to Portland.

In 1831, at twenty-five years of age, Mr. Fessenden was elected to the State legislature, of which he was the youngest member. He rose at once to distinction, both as a debater and a legislator. His insight into the details of political economy, for which, in later years, he became so distinguished, were thus early evinced in an important debate on the United States Bank, in which the youthful orator displayed remarkable spirit and ability.

From 1832 to 1839, Mr. Fessenden devoted himself exclusively to his profession, in which he very soon rose to the first rank, both as a counselor and an advocate. In 1838, he was solicited to become a candidate for Congress, but declined. In 1839, he was again chosen to the State legislature, a representative from the city of Portland. Although the House was largely Democratic, and Mr. Fessenden was a Whig always distinguished for an uncompromising assertion of his principles, nevertheless he was placed on the Judiciary Committee, and was made Chairman of the House Committee for revising the Statutes of the State.

Mr. Fessenden, in 1840, was nominated by acclamation as the Whig candidate for Congress, and was elected by a vote running considerably beyond the party limit. In Congress he participated in the current debates, and made speeches on the Loan Bill, Army Appropriation Bill, and against the repeal of the Bankrupt Law. In 1843, he was nominated for re-election, but declined, from a choice to remain in the practice of his profession; and, meantime, he received in the legislature of that year, the votes of the Whig party for a vacant seat in the United States Senate. In 1845, he was again elected to the State legislature, and was also chosen in the following year, but declined.

From 1845 to 1852, Mr. Fessenden was in private life, devoting himself to his profession with a constantly increasing practice and reputation. During this period he was associated with Daniel Webster in an important case before the Supreme Court at Washington, involving a legal question never before discussed in that court. The question was as to "how far the fraudulent acts of an auctioneer in selling property should affect the owner of the property sold—he being no party to the fraud?" In this case, Mr. Fessenden had to contend against the weight and influence of Judge Story's opinion and decision, which were against his client in the court below. But he was successful, and Judge Story's decision was reversed. His argument on that occasion was remarkable for its logical force and legal acuteness, and was said to have won the highest admiration from the most fastidious judges.

Once, during this period (1850) of Mr. Fessenden's career, he was elected to Congress, but his seat was given to his competitor through an error in the returns. Yet he declined to contest the case before Congress, from an unwillingness to serve in that body. This unwillingness he had decisively expressed in advance to the Conventions of the Whig and Free-Soil parties, which, against his wishes, had insisted upon nominating him.

Mr. Fessenden was a member of the National Convention which nominated Gen. Harrison for the Presidency in 1840; and of the

National Convention which nominated Gen. Taylor in 1848; and also of that which nominated Gen. Scott in 1852. He was a member of the Maine legislature in 1853, the Senate of which gave him a majority vote for the position of Senator in Congress. But the House, being Democratic, failed by four votes to concur, and no election was effected at that session. The same House, however, though opposed to him in politics, associated him with the Hon. Reuel Williams in negotiating the purchase of the large body of wild lands of Massachusetts, lying in Maine, which was successfully accomplished.

In the following year, we find Mr. Fessenden in the State legislature, both branches of which were Democratic. But the Kansas-Nebraska question operating as a disturbing element, he was now elected United States Senator by both branches—a union being formed of the Whigs and Free-Soil Democrats. This event may be said to have been the preliminary step toward establishing the Republican party in Maine—the necessity of which, after the action of the Southern Whigs on the Nebraska Bill, Mr. Fessenden earnestly maintained. He was strongly opposed to this bill; and shortly after taking his seat in the Senate, and on the night when it was passed, he delivered one of the most electric and effective speeches that had been made against it. This great effort established his reputation in the Senate as one of its ablest members. Among other important speeches of Mr. Fessenden subsequently made in the Senate, is his speech on our relations with England; also that on Kansas Affairs, and on the President's Message in 1856; on the Iowa Senatorial election in 1857, and on the Leecompton Constitution in 1858. In the general debates and business of the Senate, he has from the beginning taken a prominent part.

In 1859, by a unanimous vote of his party in the legislature, and without the formality of a previous nomination, Mr. Fessenden was re-elected to the United States Senate for the term of six years.

Toward the close of this term of service in the Senate, he was appointed, by President Lincoln, Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Salmon P. Chase, who had been elevated to the Supreme Bench. In

the Thirty-seventh Congress, he was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, a position which he held until appointed to the Cabinet in 1864. In his capacity as Chairman of this important committee, Mr. Fessenden's labors were of a very arduous character. In the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses there were all the vast appropriations of the Government to provide for, besides the labor of originating and putting in operation a financial system which would enable the Government to meet the demands of a civil war, waged on a scale of colossal proportions. In the accomplishment of all this, Mr. Fessenden bore a very prominent and conspicuous part. As Chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction, very much labor and care devolved upon him. He was authorized to write the Report of this Committee, which, in respect to ability, may be considered one of the capital achievements of his life.

As a laborer in the important work belonging to a legislator and statesman, probably few, if any, excel Mr. Fessenden. For clear, incisive common sense, the rarest and most excellent quality of a Senator, he is eminently distinguished. "There is no man in Congress," says one, "whose judgment is more true, whose discretion is more absolute, or whose conviction is more sincere." In great sagacity, catholic comprehension, and in that just estimate of what is practicable, he is probably unsurpassed.

Mr. Fessenden is equally eminent as a debater. He thinks closely, clearly, and accurately. He speaks readily—being prepared to discuss on the instant almost any subject that may be presented. His speeches are entirely extemporaneous, and are so accurately pronounced that they can be put in type without the change of a sentence or a word. And then there is scarcely a subject presented on which he does not have something to say—his remarks being brief and to the point. In opposition he is almost always reasonable, although, at times, the stern integrity of his character may render him somewhat impatient, particularly when in debate he is confronting mere rhetoric and sentimentality in place of argument and sound sense. But he neither traduces nor defies his opponents; and his advocacy of

measures is all the more effective that while firm, prudent, and pointed, he is, at the same time, usually genial and always respectful.

Mr. Fessenden's course and bearing in the progress of the reconstruction measures were invariably dignified and commendable. No one was more fully aware than he that the difficulties of the situation were to be surmounted, not by vituperation and crimination, nor by petty jealousies or lofty moral indignation; but rather by tranquil firmness and honest argument. Differing from the President, he forbore, however, to question his sincerity; and while convinced that certain conditions of reorganization were indispensable, he refrained from either exasperating the late rebel population, on the one hand, or flattering them, on the other.

Mr. Fessenden, as is well known, was one of those of the Republican party who, at the conclusion of President Johnson's Impeachment trial, voted for his acquittal.

In the "opinion" which he prepared on this occasion, he said: "It would be contrary to every principle of justice, to the clearest dictates of right, to try and condemn any man, however guilty he may be thought, for an offense not charged, of which no notice has been given to him, and against which he has had no opportunity to defend himself."

After proceeding at great length and with much learning to give reasons why he regarded the President not guilty on the several articles, he added: "In the case of an elective Chief Magistrate of a great and powerful people, living under a written Constitution, there is much more at stake in such a proceeding than the fate of the individual. The office of President is one of the great co-ordinate branches of the Government, having its defined powers, privileges, and duties; as essential to the very framework of the Government as any other, and to be touched with as careful a hand. Anything which conduces to weaken its hold upon the respect of the people, to break down the barriers which surround it, to make it the mere sport of temporary majorities, tends to the great injury of our Government, and inflicts a wound upon constitutional liberty. It is evident, then, as it seems

to me, that the offense for which a Chief Magistrate is removed from office, and the power intrusted to him by the people transferred to other hands, and especially where the hands which receive it are to be the same which take it from him, should be of such a character as to commend itself at once to the minds of all right-thinking men as, beyond all question, an adequate cause. It should be free from the taint of party, leave no reasonable ground of suspicion upon the motives of those who inflict the penalty, and address itself to the country and the civilized world as a measure justly called for by the gravity of the crime and the necessity for its punishment. Anything less than this, especially where the offense is one not defined by any law, would, in my judgment, not be justified by a calm and considerate public opinion as a cause for removal of a President of the United States. And its inevitable tendency would be to shake the faith of the friends of constitutional liberty in the permanency of our free institutions and the capacity of man for self-government."

Mr. Fessenden's vote to acquit the President subjected him to considerable censure from a majority of the Republican press of the country. Subsequently, on declining an invitation to a public dinner tendered to him by some distinguished citizens of Boston, he took occasion to explain and defend his action in the case. Whatever may have been the surprise and regret of many of Mr. Fessenden's friends at his decision in this momentous trial, no one can reasonably call in question the integrity and purity of the motives by which in this, as in his other public acts, he seems to have been actuated.



E. Chandler

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER is a native of Bedford, N. H., and was born Dec. 10, 1813. He received an academical education in addition to the usual school training given to New England boys.

As is common with such boys, he worked upon the farm until sixteen or seventeen years old. In the course of his youth he taught school two or three winters; and in 1833, when twenty-two years of age, he emigrated to Michigan, and engaged in mercantile business in Detroit. The country was then new, and Detroit was a town of but about 4,000 inhabitants.

Mr. Chandler is one of those fortunate men of the West who have grown up with the country. He commenced, at first, a small retail dry-goods store, but was soon enabled by a prosperous trade to enlarge his business to a wholesale trade, and extended, in course of time, his operations to all parts of the surrounding country, so that there were few of all the retail dealers in Northern and Western Michigan, Northern Ohio and Indiana, and in Western Canada, who were not numbered among his customers.

Mr. Chandler was a Whig in politics, but seems never to have sought for political honor, choosing, rather, to set the example of accepting office as an incident of the success of his party, than to strive for it as a primary object. His first official position was that of Mayor of Detroit, to which office he was elected in 1851. Here he served acceptably, and the following year was nominated for Governor of the State. His strong anti-slavery convictions, however, were brought into the canvass, and he preferred to be what he deemed right, than

to be Governor. In denouncing the institution of slavery as the great curse of the nation, he lost the election. The progress of anti-slavery sentiment in Michigan was such that in 1856 he was elected to the Senate of the United States for six years, and took his seat on the 4th of March of that year.

During the important period of his first term in the United States Senate, Mr. Chandler was identified with all the leading measures of Congress for a general system of internal improvements—for preventing a further increase of slave territory, and for the overthrow of the powerful domination of the slave power, which had usurped the control of the nation. He was one of the few Northern men in the Senate at that time who foresaw the tendency of events, and that the country was drifting onward to a terrible war.

Mr. Chandler opposed all the so-called compromise measures of the South, as the virtual surrender of the liberties of the people. In all the Senatorial contests of that period, he stands on record as the unflinching defender of liberty, and the fearless advocate of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. These great doctrines he maintained by speech and vote in the Senate and before the people; and if an appeal to arms should be necessary, he welcomed the arbitration of war.

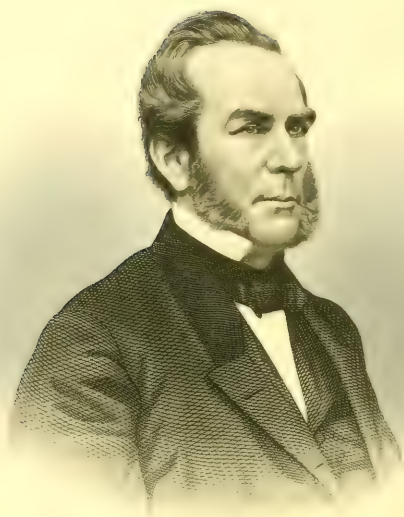
"The country," writes one of Mr. Chandler's admirers, "does not now appreciate how much it owes to his Roman firmness. The people have become too much accustomed to regard him as one of the great fortresses of their liberties, which no artillery could breach, and whose parapet no storming column could ever reach, that they have never given themselves a thought as to the disastrous consequences which might have followed on many occasions had he spoken or voted otherwise than he did. When did he ever pander to position or complain of being overslaughed by his party? Yet no man ever did braver work for a party, and got less consideration than he."

As the war came on, and seemed for a time to be prosecuted with indifferent success, particularly in the East, Mr. Chandler, with a multitude of other good men, chafed under what he considered the dila-

tory and unskillful management of army operations. He was prompt to discern and denounce the want of generalship in McClellan. His speech on this subject, made in the Senate, July 7, 1862—soon after the defeat of the army of the Potomac—was bold and incisive. "The country," he exclaimed, "is in peril; and from whom—by whom? And who is responsible? As I have said, there are two men to-day who are responsible for the present position of the army of the Potomac. The one is the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, whom I believe to be a patriot—whom I believe to be honest, and honestly earnest to crush out and put down this rebellion; the other is George B. McClellan, General of the Army of the Potomac, of whom I will not express a belief. * * Either denounce Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, whom I believe to be a pure and honest man, or George B. McClellan, who has defeated your army. He took it to Fortress Monroe, used it guarding rebel property, sacrificed the half of it in the swamps and marshes before Yorktown and the Chickahominy, and finally brought up the right wing with only thirty thousand men, and held it there till it whipped the overwhelming forces of the enemy, repulsed them three times, and then it was ordered to retreat, and after that, the enemy fought like demons, as you and I knew they would, a retreating, defeated army. Tell me where were the left and center of our army? Tell me, where were the forces in front of our left and center? Sir, twenty thousand men from the left and the center to reinforce Porter on the morning after his savage and awful fight, would have sent the enemy in disgrace and disaster into Richmond."

Mr. Chandler, as we have seen, had no patience with any half-heartedness, or dilatory efforts in the prosecution of the war against the rebellion. He was for striking decided and heavy blows in order to crush the power of the enemy, and it was under the influence of such sentiments that he, in his place in the Senate, proposed a special "Committee on the Conduct of the War." This Committee was at once ordered. Mr. Chandler declined the chairmanship of the Committee, but was one of its most energetic members; and his zeal-

ous and faithful efforts, in connection with his associates, soon resulted in the removal of McClellan from his command. Equally active was he throughout the war in promoting its efficacy, looking after the interests of the soldiers, and encouraging all measures tending to a successful issue of the great struggle; a struggle he knew it would prove to be, in the very commencement of the revolt; and he then, in a letter addressed to the Governor of Michigan, intimated that blood must flow if the Government was to be preserved. Several years afterwards, when taunted in the Senate by a Democratic Senator in reference to this letter on "blood-letting," Mr. Chandler responded as follows: "It is not the first time that I have been arraigned on that indictment of 'blood-letting.' I was first arraigned for it upon this floor by the traitor John C. Breckenridge; and after I gave him his answer, he went out into the rebel ranks and fought against our flag. I was arraigned by another Senator from Kentucky, and by other traitors on this floor. I expect to be arraigned again. I wrote the letter, and I stand by the letter, and what was in it. What was the position of the country when that letter was written? The Democratic party, as an organization, had arrayed itself against this Government; a Democratic traitor in the Presidential chair, and a Democratic traitor in every department of this Government; Democratic traitors preaching treason upon this floor, and preaching treason in the hall of the other House; Democratic traitors in your army and navy; Democratic traitors controlling every branch of this Government; your flag was fired upon, and there was no response; the Democratic party had ordained that this Government should be overthrown; and I, a Senator from the State of Michigan, wrote to the Governor of that State, 'unless you are prepared to shed blood for the preservation of this great Government, the Government is overthrown.' That is all there was to that letter. That I said, and that I say again; and I tell that Senator, if he is prepared to go down in history with the Democratic traitors who then co-operated with him, I am prepared to go down on that 'blood-letting' letter, and I stand by the record as then made."



E. D. Morgan

EDWIN D. MORGAN.



EDWIN DENNISON MORGAN is the seventh of her Governors whom New York has honored with a seat in the Senate of the United States. The others were DeWitt Clinton, Van Buren, Marcy, Wright, Seward, and Fish.

Mr. Morgan is a native of the town of Washington, Massachusetts, where he was born on the eighth of February, 1811. He here enjoyed the opportunities afforded by the public schools, until the age of twelve years, when his father removed to Windsor, Connecticut, where he attended the high school, and subsequently was a student in the Bacon Academy at Colchester. In the family exodus to Windsor, this youth of a dozen years drove an ox team loaded with household effects, performing a good share of the journey, some fifty miles, on foot. At the age of seventeen he entered the wholesale grocery and commission house of an uncle, in Hartford, as clerk. Anecdotes illustrative of his mature judgment and penetration are extant, qualities which early commanded his relative's attention, and, at the end of three years, procured for him admission to a partnership. He remained here engaged in mercantile pursuits until his removal to the city of New York, whither, in 1836, he went with a view to larger business opportunities. The period for such a change was perhaps fortunately chosen, for the financial crisis of 1837, which occurred a few months after his advent there, afforded, to a practical observer like himself, valuable lessons in the ethics of trade. At all events, his commercial house, since so successful, was established about this time on a sound and permanent basis. Enterprise, resolution, and honorable dealing, marked its course, and soon acquired for

Mr. Morgan a leading place among those engaged in pursuits like his own.

While vigilant in business, he was not unmindful of the claims implied in the right of citizenship, and from 1840 to the close of the canvass that resulted in the overwhelming defeat of General Scott, he labored assiduously in the Whig ranks, though realizing that the non-election of Mr. Clay, to whom he was devoted, destroyed the prestige of his party. He acted as Vice-President of the Republican National Convention held at Pittsburg, in 1856, and was there made Chairman of the National Committee. In that capacity he opened the Convention at Philadelphia, in 1856, that nominated Fremont, that at Chicago, in 1860, which nominated Lincoln, and also that of 1864, at Baltimore, which re-nominated Mr. Lincoln. In 1866, he was made Chairman of the Union Congressional Committee!

In 1849, he was elected to the Board of Assistant Aldermen in New York, of which he was chosen President. A few weeks after taking his seat in the latter body, the Asiatic Cholera broke out, and owing to the unfavorable sanitary condition of the city, it spread so rapidly as to create great alarm. Mr. Morgan was placed upon the Sanitary Committee, and so imminent appeared the danger from this pestilence that his whole time was devoted to the details of the position. Hospitals were to be improvised, the sale of food to be regulated, streets, yards, and places to be cleansed—indeed, many and pressing were the thankless duties incident to a critical moment like this, in a great city whose population is drawn from all quarters of the world. The efforts of the Board were attended with signal success, and in the fall of that year the Whig electors of the Sixth Senatorial District indicated their sense of his services by giving him a seat in the State Senate, and re-electing him two years afterward. In the Senate he was placed at the head of the Standing Committee on Finance, where he remained through his term. At the Session of 1851 he was made President *pro tempore* of that body, serving also in the same capacity at the extra meeting of that summer; and although the Democratic party had gained control of the Senate in 1852, he

was unanimously chosen again as its temporary President, and also for the fourth time in 1853.

In 1855, he was appointed a Commissioner of Emigration, which place was held until 1858, when he was elected Governor. To the latter office, before the end of his term, two years afterward, he was re-elected by the largest majority ever given to a governor in the State of New York. Important duties lay in the four years he was destined to fill the gubernatorial chair; and as events proved, he possessed rare qualifications for their performance. A knowledge of men, a high standing in the commercial community, a thorough business training, and practical knowledge of the complex finances of the State, coupled with clear and enlightened views on questions falling within the scope of his functions, and freedom from petty prejudices, blended happily in the new Governor. He had need of all these advantages, as also of his tireless industry, equable temper, and robust physique. His first term, though marked with vigor and the initiation of important reforms, was preparatory to the second, whose duties in extent and importance no other Governor of the State has been called upon to perform.

On entering office, he found the State's high credit threatened, the public works still unfinished, though millions had been expended for their completion.

Popular expectation, disappointed often, and wearied at length by the languid progress of the enlargement, was giving way to a disposition, adroitly fostered, to sell the canals, thereby to create a great and controlling monopoly, most baneful in its character. The militia, as an organization, had by degrees, through years of peace, quite lost its efficiency, and the condition of the military property and arsenal supplies was sorry enough. His first message to the Legislature, like all his others, shows a clear and searching insight into the condition of the State in its varied interests. These papers are eminently clear and frank, and are wanting neither in force of diction nor soundness of doctrine. In his first communication to the Legislature occurs this sentence: "Upright intentions, a heart

devoted to the interests of the commonwealth, and unceasing application, are all the pledges I can give for the faithful execution of the trusts delegated to me by the people of New York."

Pledge was never better kept, and he proceeded at once to make it good. The Canal finances received the first attention. The Canal revenues had fallen largely below the constitutional claims upon them, owing, in part, to an immense reduction in tolls, but most of all to a lax system of expenditure by the use of drafts upon the treasury, anticipatory of appropriations, to the extent of millions of dollars, in express defiance of the laws and the Constitution. This illegitimate paper was hawked in the markets, where it was known as "floating debt," a new form of obligation to New York's ledger of State indebtedness. It was daily growing in volume, and was prejudicing other forms of the State's credit. The proceeds were being used, it is true, though not with economy, in completing the Canals. He did not hesitate to present the whole subject to the Legislature, and to recommend early provision for its liquidation. "The people, thereby," said he, "are placed in the dilemma of paying an unauthorized debt, or seemingly incurring the stain of repudiation;" and while protesting against the whole system, adds, "but under no circumstances will the State of New York ever refuse to acknowledge and pay every and all just claims existing against her, or that have been contracted by any of her recognized agents." The question was submitted to a vote of the people, who legalized the debt, though by a majority so limited as to afford wholesome warning to any who might hereafter be tempted to repeat so evil a practice. As respected the current management of the Canals, he urged that the tolls be largely increased, and the cost of maintenance be essentially lessened. Both recommendations were adopted with most satisfactory results. He took decided ground against the sale of the Canals, and, with characteristic energy, urged their completion. Before retiring from the Executive office he had the satisfaction of announcing the Canal enlargement as fully effected.

The inadequate defenses of the harbor of New York were early

adverted to by him with earnestness, and the series of labors performed by him in this connection, and also in conjunction with others, afford honorable example of public economy and practical wisdom. In response to an inquiry from the Inspector-General of the Army, he says, in December, 1867:

"You ask what steps were taken by me, as Governor of New York, in response to Mr. Seward's circular letter of October, 1864, upon the subject of perfecting harbor and coast defenses, and the amount of expense incurred by the State for that purpose. Immediately on the reception of Mr. Seward's letter, I proceeded to ascertain what mode of defense would be the most judicious to adopt, with a view to making temporary provision therefor. I had called the attention of the Legislature to the inadequate defenses of the harbor of New York in January, 1860, and, in view of dangers not necessary here to detail, the subject had not been lost sight of. Hence, I was the more ready to co-operate with the General Government in providing for the safety of the lake and sea-ports of the State, when the letter reached me to which you have called my attention.

"To the Legislature, on its assembling, I referred the whole subject, with the recommendation that, in default of prompt action on the part of the national authorities, it was the duty of the State to proceed without delay with such portions of the defense as prudence should dictate.

"Under apprehensions of hostilities growing out of the *Trent* affair, I had, in December, 1861, purchased a large quantity of timber for floating obstructions, at an aggregate cost of about \$80,000, for use, if need be, in the form of cribs or rafts, connected by chain cables, to be anchored at the Narrows. The plan for its use, an eminently feasible one, had been carefully matured. When no longer necessary, the timber was sold, without loss to the State treasury.

"No expense was therefore incurred, either in 1861 or 1862, for the specific object of your inquiry. But early in 1863, the defenseless condition of the harbor of New York was again the occasion of

disquietude, because of the unfavorable aspect of this country's relations with the two principal naval forces of Europe, and the liability to ravages of privateers. Accordingly, the Legislature appropriated \$1,000,000 for the purchase of cannon, sub-marine batteries, and iron-clad steamers, and for providing such other means to protect the harbors and frontiers of the State as were deemed necessary by the commissioners named in the act, Governor Seymour, Lucius Robinson, comptroller, and myself.

"Popular apprehensions had, doubtless, magnified dangers sufficiently grave, and the commissioners lost no time in personally examining in detail all the fortifications in the harbor, and conferring with engineers thoroughly conversant with the subject. As Government was then rapidly placing the largest and most improved guns in the forts and progressing with the fortifications, there remained little to be done in that direction by the State authorities, whose duties could therefore be best performed by supplementing the labors of the Federal agents. And after due consultation with the Federal officers and other practical engineers, whose services, with the exception of the engineer in charge, it is but just to say, were gratuitously rendered, it was concluded to again resort to floating obstructions. Plans were at once advertised for, and, in due time, proposals for materials invited. As a precaution, my associates formally authorized me, in case of an unexpected attack upon the city of New York, to take such instant measures for defense as I might deem necessary, with liberty to use the whole appropriation, if required, for that purpose.

"When the bids were opened it was found that the enhanced price of timber and iron would so increase the cost of the proposed work as to render a further appropriation necessary, and, as meantime the relations of our country with certain foreign governments had become more pacific, it was decided to defer action until the regular meeting of the Legislature. Practically, however, the means for providing a defense were at all times within reach. Timber in sufficient quantities and suitable iron cables were at command in case of emergency, and as the plans for the use of these were well under-

stood by a competent board of engineer officers who could be speedily convened, it was deemed unnecessary to urge further action. It only remains to be stated that of the appropriation but \$5,000 were used ; the balance of the million remains untouched in the State treasury."

The subject of executive pardons received more than ordinary consideration from him, and considered in proportion to the applications presented, he granted fewer pardons than any of his predecessors. The matter of special legislation and the want of specific accountability for appropriations to charitable objects engaged particular attention.

In common with close observers, he from the first held as serious the threats of secession that followed the election of Mr. Lincoln, but lent his influence to calm the popular mind, and to remove, so far as was consistent with principle, any pretext for the course finally pursued by the South. But the attack on Sumter ended all disposition on his part to placate that section. "This gratuitous violence, and this deliberate insult to the flag, conclusively proves to all," said he, "that it is the design of the leaders to break up the Government." Thenceforward, day by day, he bent every energy to the work of putting down the rebellion. No other State was looked to for so many men and so much money as New York. Her quota was about one-fifth part of all the troops called for. The Legislature was about to adjourn when the news from Charleston harbor reached Albany. A few earnest words served to present his views to the two Houses. In forty-eight hours they had appropriated three millions and a half in money for war purposes, and authorized the raising of 20,000 volunteers. With the aid of the State Military Board this number was soon enrolled and fully organized, and, by the third week in May, was hurried into the field, whither nine regiments of State militia, serving as minute men, had preceded them. So extensive had been the preparations of the rebels, as to leave it obvious that a single campaign would not end the struggle of the insurgents. Hence, Governor Morgan was averse to refusing volunteers after the State's quota was filled; and when the battle of Bull Run oc-

curred, he was in Washington seeking authority to establish camps of instruction at two or three points in the State, with a view to greater efficiency of recruits, and to keep aglow the spirit of enlistment. Following the first great rebuff to Union arms, came the President's call upon New York for 25,000 men, and this demand was so far increased that on the first of January the State had raised 120,600 troops. On that day he was able to assert that "no requisition had been made by the Government that remained unhonored."

The city of New York was a common rendezvous for the several States; and many independent regiments were there forming, thereby impeding the State authorities. In view of these facts, and to secure other practical advantages, at the same time to express his sense of the important services rendered by Governor Morgan, the President, in September, 1861, appointed him a Major-General of Volunteers, and created the State into a military department under his command. It is proper to add that he declined any emolument for this duty of sixteen months.

Succeeding the ardent spirit of volunteering of the earlier months of the war, came a period when the disposition wholly ceased. The tardy movements of the eastern army and the unsuccessful series of battles of midsummer of that year had done the work. But the disaster that culminated at Malvern Hill, rendered a call indispensable, to be quickly followed by a second requisition of equal extent.

The quota of New York under the two was 120,000 men. Prompt action was vital, and a special incentive to secure the new levies became necessary. The public clamored for an extra session of the Legislature to authorize a bounty. But this involved the delay of days, possibly of weeks, when time was so precious. It was clear that the people of the commonwealth favored a bounty, and Governor Morgan did not hesitate to assume the responsibility of offering one. Accordingly he announced that the State would give \$50 to each man enlisting for three years. The stimulus proved sufficient, and volunteering at once began again in earnest. A class of volunteers inferior to none who had ever taken up arms, were brought into

the service. The aggregate sum expended for this object was about \$3,500,000, which the Legislature at its next session, acting on the recommendation of Governor Seymour, lost no time in legalizing. The mode employed in this emergency, that of raising local regiments by committees of leading citizens for their respective Senate districts, proved to be wisely chosen. In a few days a regiment was ready for the field, and they followed each other with steady pace, at the rate of one a day until the great quotas were filled. Several of these regiments were equipped with arms purchased by the Governor, and most of them were uniformed and otherwise supplied from his purchases. They reached the field in time to take part in the battle of Antietam, inspiring by their presence the hearts of the veterans whose rapid marches northward had prevented communication with friends, and who were needing such a stimulus. By the end of his term he had sent no less than 320,000 men into the field, being more than a fifth part of all that had yet entered the service. In addition to these, the State militia regiments were on three several occasions dispatched to Washington, to answer emergencies. The thanks of the President and the Secretary of War were frequently tendered Governor Morgan, for his promptness and efficiency in responding to their demands, and the extent of the aid that as executive of New York he was enabled to render. When he left the office, New York stood credited with an excess over all quotas.

Contracts for rations, clothing, arms and ordnance, to the extent of many million dollars, had been made by him in behalf of the General Government, in addition to what had been purchased for the State. All these business transactions have received the approval of the Federal authorities.

There were, during his latter term, causes of grave uneasiness to which the public gave no particular heed, but which occasioned him no little anxiety. The disorderly element in the city of New York, stimulated by persons not unfriendly to the South, and which a few months after his retirement originated the riot there, was watched by him with unceasing care. The rebel element in Canada, too, and

the threatening aspect of the relations of this country with Great Britain in the earlier part of the war, made necessary, considering the proximity of the State to Canada and its extended and exposed frontier, a provision for prompt defense or retaliation; and in the winter of 1862, a plan was matured, the execution of which he would have intrusted to General Wadsworth, with the latter's approval, to secure the State from hostile dangers in that quarter. The subsequent raid at St. Albans and elsewhere along the northern borders, was but a feeble indication of what might have been in the earlier stages of the rebellion.

In February, 1862, he was elected to the Senate of the United States for the term of six years, to succeed Preston King. He took his seat at the called session of March of that year, and has served on the Committees on Commerce, Finance, the Pacific Railroad, as Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, on Manufactures, Military Affairs, Mines and Mining, and on Printing.


In February, 1865, on the retirement of Mr. Fessenden, he was asked by Mr. Lincoln to accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury. This he declined; but not disposed to forego the advantages which he believed Mr. Morgan's presence in the Cabinet at the head of the Finances would bring, the President, disregarding his expressed wishes, nominated him without his knowledge, and it was only after earnest objections on his part that Mr. Lincoln consented to withdraw his name and leave him in the Senate.

At its commencement, in July, 1867, Williams College, which is located in his native county of Berkshire, Massachusetts, conferred upon him the Degree of Doctor of Laws.



J. A. Hendricks

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

 THOMAS A. HENDRICKS was born in Muskingum County, Ohio, September 7, 1819. He was educated at South Hanover College. He studied law at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where he completed his legal studies in 1843. He soon after settled in Indiana, of which State his uncle, Hon. William Hendricks, was an early Governor, and a United States Senator.

In the profession of law, Mr. Hendricks met with marked success, and attained great eminence. His professional business soon ceased to be of a mere local character, his practice extending largely into the highest courts of the State and the nation. In 1848, he was elected a member of the Indiana Legislature. In 1850, he was an active member of the Convention to amend the State Constitution. In 1851, he was elected a Representative in Congress from Indiana, and served two terms.

In 1855, Mr. Hendricks was appointed, by President Pierce, Commissioner of the General Land Office. During the four years of his service in this capacity, more business was transacted by the General Land Office than at any previous or subsequent period. Over four hundred thousand land patents were issued; and the land sold, located by warrants, and taken by grants, amounted to eighty millions of acres.

In 1860, Mr. Hendricks was the candidate of the Democratic party for Governor of Indiana, but was defeated. Two years later, his party having carried the State, he was elected a United States Senator for the term ending March 4, 1869.

In 1868, the name of Mr. Hendricks was prominently before the New York National Convention for the nomination as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. It was deeply regretted by many of his party that he was not chosen as their leader in the great political struggle which ensued. He actively participated in the campaign, however, as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana. After an exciting campaign and a close contest, he was defeated by a majority of about one thousand.

In the Senate of the United States, Mr. Hendricks was justly regarded as the ablest in the ranks of the minority. With great argumentative ability, and never-failing good humor, he advocated the policy of his party in opposition to the Reconstruction Acts of Congress. His great arguments on the Freedman's Bureau, the Civil Rights Bill, and on various questions of Reconstruction, were regarded by all as masterly presentations of Democratic principles and policy.

The career of Mr. Hendricks in the Senate has been marked by so much ability and courtesy as to win the respect and regard of his political opponents. In the course of a discussion in the Thirty-ninth Congress, a Republican Senator pronounced Mr. Hendricks "the best natured man in the Senate." On another occasion a Republican Senator remarked in debate, that if he had as much respect for the political opinions of Mr. Hendricks as for his abilities, they would seldom disagree.

As a speaker, Mr. Hendricks is graceful, deliberate, and impressive. He states legal and political propositions with clearness, and deduces conclusions with great logical skill, constantly giving evidence of careful investigation and thorough understanding of his subject. When feeling is to be aroused, or action to be urged, his earnestness of manner gives great weight to his appeals. He uses little ornament, relying for effect rather on plain statement than on rhetorical flourish.

On the 30th of January, 1868, Mr. Hendricks delivered in the Senate a speech on the Supplementary Reconstruction Bill then

pending, from the concluding portion of which we make the following extracts:

"What objection have you to the constitutions of the Southern States as amended by the people? For two years you have made war against this policy; for two years you have kept these States out of the Union so far as representation was concerned; for two years you have kept this country disturbed and distracted; trade, commerce, and business have been uncertain and shivering; industry has been fearful to put forth its hand, or capitol to trust to any enterprise; the spirit of harmony and of union has been passing away from both sections of the country, because of the strife that you have thus kept up. For what have you done it? What end have you attained? * * * You can lay your hand of logic upon but one thing. * * * You have taken the robes of political power off the shoulders of white men, and you have put them upon the shoulders of negroes. * * *

"A republican form of government is a form in which the people make their own laws through legislators selected by themselves, execute their laws through an executive department chosen by themselves, and administer their laws through their own courts. Is not that as near a republican form of government as you can have? That was the state of things when the Congressional policy sent five armies into the Southern States, when ten Governors were deposed by the paramount authority of the military power. * * * The property, the life, and the liberty of this people are placed at the control of the military authority; and this is a policy that is called a policy of reconstruction, of restoration, and this you claim to be done under the guarantee clause which directs this Government to guarantee to each State a republican form of government! You find no other point in the Constitution where you can stand. There is not a rock in the Constitution large enough for your feet to stand upon except this one, that it is your duty to guarantee a republican form of government to these States; and in the exercise of that power, in the discharge of that duty, you establish a military rule and despotism

which is defined in the language of the Declaration of Independence, declaring the offenses of the British Crown toward the Colonies.

"This is all under the pretext of the guarantee clause. * * * I had some respect for it when it was claimed as under the military authority of the President, because when you say it is a military necessity I do not know any answer to that. Military necessity has no reply except obédience; but to say to an intelligent people that you are guaranteeing a republican form of government to States, when you are subjecting all the legitimate and rightful authority of their State governments to military rule, is, in my humble judgment, an insult to an intelligent people.

"I know the answer to this very well; that your establishment in the Southern States is only provisional; that it is only to last for a little time; and that out of its ruins there will 'spring up phoenix-like to Jove,' republican forms of government. You lay the foundations of free institutions on the solid rock of despotism, and expect it to grow up to a beautiful structure. I do not believe in the doctrine that you can do wrong and expect good to follow. I believe in the doctrine that good is the result of good, and that from a pure fountain. * * *

"Mr. President, my colleague has spoken of a column—the column of Congressional Reconstruction—and has said that 'it is not hewn of a single stone, but is composed of many blocks.' Sir, I think he is right. Its foundation is the hard flint-stone of military rule, brought from the quarries of Austria, and upon that foundation rests the block from Africa and it is thence carried to its topmost point with fragments of our broken institutions. That column will not stand. It will fall, and its architects will be crushed beneath its ruins. In its stead, the people will uphold thirty-seven stately and beautiful columns, pure and white as Parian marble, upon which shall rest for ever the grand structure of the American Union."

In the Impeachment trial, Mr. Hendricks voted for the acquittal of the President. In presenting his "opinion on the case," he closed as follows :

"I cannot concur in the opinion that has been expressed, that if a technical violation of law has been established, the Senate has no discretion, but must convict. I think the Senate may judge whether in the case a high crime or misdemeanor has been established, and whether in the name of the people the prosecution ought to be made and sustained. Van Buren was not impeached for the removal of the Pensacola Navy Agent, and the designation of Purser Walker to take charge of the office. President Jackson was not impeached for the *ad interim* appointment of Boyle as Secretary of the Navy under a claim of constitutional authority, without any statute allowing it. Presidents Harrison and Fillmore were not impeached for making *ad interim* appointments of Secretary of the Navy, with no statute authorizing it. President Buchanan was not impeached for removing the postmaster at New Orleans, and filling the place *ad interim*; nor for removing Fowler, the postmaster at New York, during the session of the Senate, and supplying the place *ad interim*, with no statutory authority; nor was he impeached for authorizing Joseph Holt to discharge the duties of Secretary of War *ad interim*, upon the resignation of John B. Floyd, though the Senate called upon him for his authority, and in his reply he cited one hundred and seventy-nine precedents, not going back to Jackson's administration. Mr. Lincoln was not impeached for the appointment of General Skinner Postmaster-General *ad interim*, without any statute authorizing it; nor for the removal of Isaac Henderson, Navy Agent at New York, during the session of the Senate, and the *ad interim* appointment of Paymaster Gibson to the office; nor for the removal of Chambers, the Navy Agent at Philadelphia, during the session of the Senate, and the appointment of Paymaster Watson *ad interim* to the office, there then being no statute authorizing it. He was not impeached for continuing Major-General Frank P. Blair in command long after the Senate had declared by resolution that in such case the office could not be held 'without a new appointment in the manner prescribed by the Constitution;' nor for the appointing at one time any more generals in the Army than the laws allowed.

“Supported by a long line of precedents, coming through our whole history, unchallenged and unrebuked by Congress, President Johnson stands before us upon these charges; and I ask my brother Senators what answer we will make to the people when they ask us why we selected him for a sacrifice for doing just what was always recognized as right in his predecessors? Upon my oath, I cannot strike such a blow.

“The judgment of the First Congress was that the President has the right under the Constitution to remove the Secretaries, and that judgment is supported by the uniform practice of the Government from that day till the meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress. The evidence shows that Mr. Johnson was advised by every member of his Cabinet, including Mr. Stanton, that he had that right under the Constitution, and that Congress could not take it from him nor impair it, and therefore it was his duty to veto the Tenure of Office Bill; and that the bill did not include the appointments made by Mr. Lincoln; and that, notwithstanding the passage of the bill, he would have the right to remove the Secretaries of War, of State, and of the Navy. This advice was given by the members of the Cabinet under the obligations of the Constitution and of their oaths; and now, if we say that he, being so informed and advised, was guilty of a crime in demanding the right to select his own constitutional advisers, as it has been conceded to all the Presidents, and for that drive him from his office and give it to a member of this body, it does seem to me that we will do an act of such flagrant injustice and cruelty as to bring upon our heads the indignant condemnation of all just men, and this impeachment will stand itself impeached before the civilized world.”



Lehote

CORNELIUS COLE.



In the year 1800 the grandparents of the subject of this sketch penetrated the wilderness of Western New York. David Cole, his father, was at that time twelve years old, and Rachel Townsend, his mother, was ten ; the former having been born in New Jersey, and the latter in Dutchess County, New York.

Cornelius Cole was born in Seneca County, New York, September 17, 1822. He was afforded such educational facilities as the thrifty farmers of New York were accustomed to give their sons.

When he was about seventeen years old, a practical surveyor moved into the neighborhood and proposed to instruct some of the boys in his art. Flint's "Treatise on Surveying" was procured, and in eighteen days young Cole, without assistance, went through it; working out every problem, and making a copy of each in a book prepared for that purpose.

In the following spring, the instructor having died, young Cole entered into practice as his successor, executing surveys in the country about.

It was after this that he began in earnest preparation for college; first in the Ovid Academy, and afterwards at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary.

He spent one year at Geneva College, but the balance of his collegiate course was passed at the Wesleyan University in Connecticut, where he was graduated in the full course in 1847. After a little respite he entered upon the study of law, in Auburn, N. Y., and was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of that State at Oswego, on the 1st of May, 1848.

After so many years of close application, recreation was needed,

and an opportunity for it was presented by the discovery of gold in California. On the 12th of February, 1849, he, in company with a few friends, left his native town for a journey across the continent. On the 24th of April, the party, consisting of seven, crossed the frontier of Missouri and entered upon the open plains.

At Fort Laramie the wagons of the company were abandoned, and the rest of the journey was made with pack and saddle animals alone; arriving at Sacramento City, then called the Embarcadero, on the 24th of July. After a few days of rest, he returned to the gold mines in El Dorado County, and worked with good success till winter, often washing out over a hundred dollars a day. When the rainy season set in, he first visited San Francisco, and in the following spring began the practice of law there. While absent in the Atlantic States in 1851, two most destructive fires visited that city, and he returned to find himself without so much as a law book or paper upon which to write a complaint. He visited some friends at Sacramento, and unexpectedly becoming engaged in law business, opened an office there.

Though he had been active in the political campaign of 1848, on the free-soil side, he took little or no part in politics in California beyond freely expressing his anti-slavery opinions, until his law business became entangled in it in this way: certain negroes had been brought out from Mississippi, and having earned much money for their master, were discharged with their freedom. Afterwards they were seized by some ruffians, with the purpose of taking them back to slavery. Cole unhesitatingly undertook their defense, and thus brought down upon himself at once the hostility not only of the claimants but of all their sympathizers, from the highest officers of the State down to the lowest dregs of society. California was at that time as fully subject to the slave power as any portion of the Union.

About this period he was united in marriage to a young lady of many accomplishments, Miss Olive Colegrove, who came from New York, and met him at San Francisco by appointment.

He contended vigorously with the elements of opposition in his profession until 1856, when, the presidential campaign opening, he was urged by the Fremont party to edit the *Sacramento Daily Times*, the organ of the Republicans for the State. The paper was conducted to the entire satisfaction of the party, and at the same time commanded the respect of the Democrats and Know-Nothings. After the election its publication was suspended, and Mr. Cole returned to his profession.

During the following four years he was the California member of the Republican National Committee and an active member of every convention of his party, always taking strong ground against both the Breckenridge and Douglas wings of the opposition, and never consenting to any party affiliation with either.

In 1859 he was elected District-Attorney for the city and county of Sacramento, being about the only Republican elected to any office in California that year.

His execution of that office during the two years for which he was elected was in the highest degree satisfactory to the people, and the subject of frequent favorable comment by both the courts and the profession.

In 1862 he visited the theater of the war. Before his return to the Pacific he had been named for Congress, and the following year was elected, receiving 64,985 votes.

In the Thirty-eighth Congress he was eminently successful in accomplishing results. He was a member of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad and of the Committee on Post-offices and Post Roads. As a member of the latter committee, he originated the project for mail steamship service between San Francisco and the East Indies, known as the "China Mail Line." The success of this great measure is universally conceded to be the result of his considerate management. His speech upon the subject was concise, and at the same time comprehensive and convincing.

He delivered a speech in favor of establishing a Mining Department at Washington, full of argument and statistics.

In February, 1864, when our arms were in their most depressed condition, he made a very effective speech in favor of arming the slaves.

Mr. Cole was among the most earnest advocates of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, and on the 28th January, 1865, made an effective speech in favor of the measure.

Mr. Cole's first term in Congress ended with the first term of Mr. Lincoln's administration. In him the war always found a warm supporter, and he enjoyed in an eminent degree the confidence of Mr. Lincoln. He was not elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, but returned to California, to be very generally named for the United States Senate to succeed Mr. McDougall. In December, 1865, he was elected to that high office, receiving on the first balloting 92 votes out of 118, — having been nominated in the caucus of his party on the first ballot by a vote of 60 to 31.

Mr. Cole's career as a Senator, which has just begun, promises to be replete with useful service to the country, watchful regard for the interests of his State, and honor to himself. He is deliberate in forming his opinions, as he is firm in maintaining them when reached.



Rich. Yates.

RICHARD YATES.



OME who were not soldiers in the field, became conspicuous for their talents and patriotism amid the emergencies of the recent civil war. Prominent among these was Richard Yates of Illinois. He was born in Warsaw, Gallatin County, Kentucky, in 1818. In 1831 he removed with his father to Illinois, and settled in Springfield. He studied for one year in Miami University, Ohio, and subsequently entered Illinois College, where he graduated in 1838, the first graduate in any Western college. He subsequently studied law with Colonel John J. Hardin, who fell at the head of his regiment in the battle of Buena Vista. Having been admitted to the bar, Mr. Yates settled in the beautiful city of Jacksonville, Illinois, which has since been his home. In 1842 he was elected to the State Legislature, and served until 1850.

In 1850 he was nominated by a Whig Convention as a candidate for Congress, and was elected. In March, 1851, he took his seat in the House of Representatives, the youngest member of that body. A change was soon after made in his district, which, it was supposed, would secure a majority to the opposite party, yet he was re-elected over Mr. John Calhoun, a popular Democratic leader.

The district represented by Mr. Yates included the early home of Senator Douglas, where he had taught school, and commenced the practice of law. When Mr. Douglas became the author and champion of "Squatter Sovereignty" as applied to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, his old friends warmly espoused the doctrine, partly through local pride and personal attachment to its author. The consequence was that, in 1854, Mr. Yates, who had opposed the "Nebraska Bill," was defeated as a candidate for re-election to Congress.

He subsequently devoted himself for several years to the practice of his profession and to the duties of president of a railroad. This interval of private life is looked back upon by himself and his friends as the happiest and most prosperous period of his career. Living in the midst of a community the most moral and intellectual of any in the West, surrounded by a young and interesting family to whose happiness he was devoted, and by whom he was ardently beloved, he passed a few years, which were the happiest of his life.

His family and near personal friends were reluctant to have Mr. Yates enter again upon political life, but his patriotic impulses and his ambition to mingle in more stirring scenes, induced him to accept the nomination for Governor of Illinois in 1860. He had long been a devoted personal and political friend of Mr. Lincoln, and most gladly threw the power of his eloquence and the weight of his influence to promote his elevation to the presidential chair. As both the leading candidates for the presidency were citizens of Illinois, the contest in that State was especially interesting and exciting. The result, however, could not be doubtful, and Richard Yates was inaugurated as Governor of Illinois at Springfield a few weeks before Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office in Washington.

The inaugural address of Governor Yates was a most eloquent protest against the gigantic treason of South Carolina and other seceding States. Freshly crowned with the suffrages of a great State, his voice was heard throughout the Union as a truthful utterance of the people of the Northwest. "On the question of the Union of these States," said he, "all our people will be a unit. The foot of the traitor has never yet blasted the green sward of Illinois. All the running waters of the Northwest are waters of freedom and Union, and come what will, as they glide to the great Gulf, they will ever, by the ordinance of '87 and by the higher ordinance of Almighty God, bear only free men and free trade upon their bosoms, or their channels will be filled with the comingled blood of traitors, cowards, and slaves!"

The rebellion soon assumed proportions more immense, and the

eloquent utterances of Governor Yates were put to a practical test. On the 15th of April, 1861, the Secretary of War issued an order requiring the Governor of Illinois to contribute six regiments to make up the force of 75,000 men called out by the President's first proclamation.

On the day the Governor received the call of the War Department, he issued a proclamation for a special session of the Legislature to provide the sinews of war.

Within ten days after the proclamation of Governor Yates was published, more than ten thousand men had offered their services. The work of enlistment still went on, and disappointment was everywhere expressed that the services of more men could not be accepted.

Cairo being a point of great strategic importance, situated at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, and commanding both rivers, it was deemed important that it should at once be possessed and fortified by a Federal force. On the 19th of April Governor Yates ordered General Swift, of the State Militia, to take possession of Cairo. Forty-eight hours after the reception of this order, that officer left Chicago with four six-pounders and 495 men. On the morning of the 23d this force took possession of Cairo, which proved a most valuable military position during the war. It was fortunate for the country that this movement was made so promptly. A brief delay might have enabled the enemy to carry out their cherished purpose of waging the war upon Northern soil.

The Ohio and Mississippi Rivers were then thronged with steamboats engaged in the "Southern trade," and laden to the water's edge with Cincinnati dry goods, Northern produce, and Galena lead. The occupation of Cairo enabled Governor Yates to do a service to the Union by stopping this "aid and comfort" to the rebellion. The Governor having received information that the steamers *C. E. Hillman* and *John D. Perry* were about to leave St. Louis with military stores, he inaugurated the blockade of the Mississippi by telegraphing to Colonel Prentiss, commanding at Cairo, "Stop said boats, and seize all arms and munitions." The command was promptly and

successfully obeyed, and all the strength which the commerce of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers would have given to the rebel cause was at once cut off.

The War Department required but six regiments of soldiers from Illinois, and two hundred companies were ready and eager to be accepted. Governor Yates urged and finally secured the acceptance of four additional regiments. The disasters of the summer of 1861 aroused the General Government to a sense of the real danger of the country, and the necessity of a large army for putting down the rebellion.

Illinois had nobly responded to the enlarged demands. By the close of 1861 Governor Yates had sent to the field more than forty-three thousand men, and had in camps of instruction seventeen thousand more.

President Lincoln having on the 6th of July, 1862, called for three hundred thousand additional volunteers, Governor Yates replied: "Illinois, already alive with beat of drum and the tramp of new recruits, will respond to your call."

To the honor of Illinois it is to be recorded, that in the busiest season of the year, only eleven days were required to enlist more than fifty thousand men for the service of the country.

When the time arrived for the election of members for the General Assembly for 1863-4, there were at least one hundred thousand voters of Illinois absent from the State, in the service of the country. The consequence was the election of a Legislature with a majority opposed to the war for putting down the rebellion. It was in vain that the Governor recommended measures calculated to sustain and reinforce the soldiers of Illinois already in the field; in vain that he pleaded the necessity of providing and appropriating means for sustaining the financial and military credit of the State. The Legislature was not possessed of the patriotic impulses which moved the Governor and those who had responded to his call. Their time was wasted in unprofitable attention to other interests than those of the country in the great emergency which was upon her.

In June, 1863, a disagreement having occurred between the two houses as to the time of final adjournment, the Governor, in the exercise of a power placed in his hands by the constitution, prorogued the General Assembly to the 31st of December, 1864, the day when its existence would terminate by law.

The people approved this brave and patriotic movement of their Governor, and in the following year elected a Legislature in sympathy with the country, and in harmony with the soldiers who were fighting her battles.

This Legislature elected Richard Yates to the Senate of the United States—a suitable reward to one whose ability and patriotism had contributed so largely to the honor of Illinois. During his administration a peaceful agricultural State, with scarcely a professional soldier within her limits, had grown to be one of the mightiest military commonwealths in history. Her army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, raised during the administration of Governor Yates, from the farms and shops of Illinois, was unsurpassed in effectiveness and valor. It was partly owing to the pride which the Governor took in the advancement of the soldiers of his State that so many of them had risen to high and distinguished rank as officers of the army. With honest pride the Governor said in his final message: “In response to calls for troops the State stands pre-eminently in the lead among her loyal sisters, and every click of the telegraph heralds the perseverance of Illinois generals and the indomitable courage and bravery of Illinois sons in every engagement of the war. The history of the war is brilliant with recitations of the skill and powers of our general, field, staff, and line officers. The list of promotions from the field and staff officers of our regiments to lieutenant and major-generals for gallant conduct and the pre-requisites for efficient and successful command, compare brilliantly with the names supplied by all other States; and the patient, vigilant, and tenacious record made by our veteran regiments in the camp, on the march, and in the field, is made a subject of praise by the whole country, and will be the theme for poets and historians of all lands for all time.”

Mr. Yates took his seat in the Senate of the United States on the 4th of March, 1865, in time to aid in the complete restoration of the Union he had elsewhere assisted to save.


He immediately took rank among the foremost of those who have been denominated "Radicals." He announced himself as standing upon the broad principle "that all citizens, without distinction of race, color, or condition, should be protected in the enjoyment and exercise of all their civil and political rights." His faith in the final triumph of this principle was unwavering. On the 14th of February, 1866, Mr. Yates pronounced a speech of three hours' duration on a proposed Constitutional Amendment changing the basis of representation. "It is too late," he eloquently said on that occasion, "it is too late to change the tide of human progress."

Mr. Yates is one of the most popular orators of the country. Impelled by a warm humanitarianism and glowing imagination, he passes rapidly by dry technicalities and abstract theories to those grand and glowing deductions which the patriot delights to contemplate. He possesses a melodious voice, a graceful manner, with a ready and even rapid utterance. In person he is of medium height, with a face which in his early years possessed a beauty quite uncommon among men of mark.



C. D. Drake

CHARLES D. DRAKE.

HE border States, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, were for a time the scene of severe conflicts between loyalty and treason; and during the whole progress of the war, only the presence of the military power of the Government secured the supremacy of the former. This condition of things brought out into prominence many men who had before taken little part in public affairs, and who did not enter the military service. Among these was Charles D. Drake, of Missouri. He was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 11th of April, 1811, being the son of Daniel Drake, M.D., of that city, for many years eminent as a practitioner and teacher of medicine.

Mr. Drake's education was mainly received in the ordinary schools of the West. The only institutions of a higher grade which he attended were St. Joseph College, Bardstown, Kentucky, and Captain Partridge's Military Academy, Middletown, Connecticut. While at the latter, in April, 1827, he was appointed a Midshipman in the Navy, and in the following November entered upon active duty, and remained in the Navy until January, 1830, when he retired from the service and began the study of the law. He was admitted to the Cincinnati bar in 1833, and the next year removed to St. Louis, then a town of seven thousand five hundred inhabitants.

In 1838, he originated the St. Louis Law Library, now one of the most valuable in the country, and for more than twenty-one years was one of its Directors.

Mr. Drake's first appearance in public life was in 1859, when he was elected to the House of Representatives of Missouri, to fill a vacancy.

In 1860, he, for the first time since 1844, took part in politics, espousing the cause of Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidency, as a means of preventing the Electoral vote of Missouri from being cast for John C. Breckinridge. In August of that year, he delivered a speech at Victoria, in which the treasonable designs of the Southern States were exposed and denounced, and which, it was generally conceded, was the means of gaining the vote of Missouri for Mr. Douglas.

From the secession of South Carolina, Mr. Drake's course was open and pronounced against secession and rebellion. By speech and pen he labored for the Union cause, and it was in connection with those labors that he became prominent in Missouri and before the country.

In January, 1861, he delivered a speech in the Hall of Representatives of Missouri, in the presence of many members of the Legislature who were then plotting the secession of Missouri; in which he took the highest ground of unconditional loyalty to the Constitution and the Union.

On the following Fourth of July he delivered an elaborately prepared speech at Louisiana, Mo., upon all the issues of the hour; which was extensively published at the time, and was preserved in the "Rebellion Record." The concluding words of this speech were as follows:

"We are lost if our Constitution is overthrown. Thenceforward we may bid farewell to liberty. Never were truer or greater words uttered by an American statesman, than when Daniel Webster closed his great speech in defense of the Constitution, nearly thirty years ago, with that sublime exclamation: 'Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!' Union gave us liberty, disunion would take it away. He who strikes at the Union, strikes at the heart of the Nation. Shall not the Nation defend its life? And when the children of the Union come to its rescue, shall they be denounced? And if denounced, will they quail before the mere breath of the Union's foes? For one, I shrink not from any words

of man, save those which would justly impute to me disloyalty to the Union and the Constitution. My country is all to me; but it is no country without the Constitution which has exalted and glorified it. For the preservation of that Constitution I shall not cease to struggle; and my life-long prayer will be, GOD SAVE THE AMERICAN UNION!"

On the 22d of February, 1862, he delivered, in St. Louis, an Address, in which he denounced Slavery as the cause of the rebellion, and used these words:

"Let it once be manifest that we are shut up to choose between our noble country, with its priceless Constitution, and Slavery, then, with every fiber of my heart and every energy of my nature, I will pass along the universal cry of all patriots—Down with Slavery for ever! I would then no more hesitate which to choose, than, in view of death, I would balance between eternal life and eternal perdition."

This Address was followed, at intervals, by others, during the progress of the rebellion, exposing its true character and aims, and denouncing Slavery as its sole cause. They were all gathered and published in a volume in 1864.

In 1863, Mr. Drake was elected a member, from St. Louis, of the Missouri State Convention, which was constituted in 1861, and which re-assembled in June, 1863, in pursuance of a proclamation of the Governor of the State, "to consult and act upon the subject of the emancipation of slaves." In that body he took ground in favor of immediate emancipation; but the Convention adopted a scheme so gradual as hardly to terminate Slavery before the year 1900. Mr. Drake, in a vigorous canvass, assailed it before the people; whence followed the rise of the "Radical" party in Missouri, of which he has for more than five years been the acknowledged leader.

In September, 1863, a delegation of seventy men from all parts of Missouri visited President Lincoln at Washington, to inform him of the actual condition of parties and affairs in Missouri. Mr. Drake was chairman of that body. Its address to the President attracted the attention of the people, and gave no inconsiderable impulse to Radicalism in all the loyal States.

In February, 1864, a Freedom Convention was held in Louisville, Ky., which Mr. Drake attended, and which he addressed on Washington's Birth-day, in a speech which attracted much notice and commendation from all parts of the country. The following are the concluding words of that address :

“ The issue, upon one side or the other, of which every man in the nation must be ranged, is fully made up, between that Radicalism which will venture all, do all, and brave all for the Union and Freedom, and that Conservatism which, assuming loyalty, hangs back from the advanced positions of patriotism ; professes enmity to Slavery, and yet cringes to it ; avows hostility to treason, and yet counts traitors for partisan ends ; ever finds something strong and resolute, which it were wise not to venture—something prompt and effective, that had better not be done—something daring and aggressive, which it is discretion not to be brave ; and is content to stake less than all for country, that it may more cheaply win all for *itself*. When between two such forces the country's safety hangs, it is time that the banner of Radicalism were unfurled beyond the narrow limits of Missouri. The nation should behold it. Why not raise it here ? And why not on this birth-day of Washington ! Is there any better place or day ? We have come to fling it to the breeze, and to plant it in the front rank, and we will do it. It is no paltry ensign of sectionalism, no drabbed banner of party, but the grand old standard of the Republic, with every broad stripe still firm and unstained ; and look ! with one more star in its azure field, than when treason struck at the beaming constellation ; and that one riven, with her own blood-stained hand, from once brilliant, now poor, dismembered, fallen ‘ Old Virginia ! ’ And see ! its spreading folds reveal an inscription, inwoven in letters of gold, flashing in the orient sunlight ! What are the words ? Read them, ye downcast and oppressed, for they speak hope and cheer to you ; read them, friends of Freedom, for they tell you of a brighter day ; read them, champions of Slavery, for they proclaim your discomfiture ; read them, traitors, for they thunder anathemas to you, as they say—‘ The Union

without a slave; the Constitution amended to forbid Slavery for ever; and the arms of the Nation to uphold that Union and that Constitution to the latest generation ! ' ”

In November, 1864, a new convention was elected in Missouri, to revise and amend the constitution of that State, and Mr. Drake was chosen one of its members from St. Louis County, and upon its assembling, in January, 1865, was made its vice president, and soon became its acknowledged leader. By that body slavery in Missouri was abolished on the 11th of that month. The convention was in session three months, and formed the present constitution of that State. In its formation so large a part was taken by Mr. Drake that he became more prominently identified with it than any other member of that body.

Mr. Drake was elected to the Senate of the United States in January, 1867, and took his seat in that body on the ensuing 4th of March.

In the subsequent consideration of the measures of reconstruction, he took a decidedly Radical stand; as, indeed, he had at all times taken on all questions relating to the suppression of the rebellion. His resolute adherence to Radical principles and policies was expressed in a published letter to Reverdy Johnson in November, 1867, in which he said :

“ Here, Senator, at the close, as in the outset, we diverge. Cling, if you please, to purblind, droning, effete conservatism, and drift with it into the realms of the rejected and forgotten ; but I will hold on to living, clear-sighted, resolute, and progressive Radicalism, be its fate what it may. If Americans, in this the meridian of their military renown, have not courage, persistence, and nerve to uphold such Radicalism as upheld and saved their country in the day of its deadliest peril, they will only exhibit a dishonoring example of a people unsurpassed in martial valor and achievement, but too timid for great civil conflicts, too feeble for sharp moral exigencies, too fickle for earnest struggles for the right, and too small for the mold of a grand and noble destiny.”

Participating in the discussion of the Supplementary Reconstruct-

tion bill in the Senate, Mr. Drake earnestly advocated the substitution of voting by ballot for the method which had prevailed throughout the South of voting *viva voce*, and said :

"Once get the mode of voting by ballot fairly into the hands of a majority of the people down there, and they will be very likely to take care of it; but what I want is, that while this nation is undertaking to reconstruct these States upon the principle of loyalty to the Union, upon the principle of protecting the loyal people, the work shall be done thoroughly. Sir, I came from a State where we have dealt with this rebellion in some of its foulest aspects; and we have learned there, through a long and bitter experience, that the only way to deal with it is to apply the knife deep and strong down to the very fibers of the roots, leave not a single atom in which to germinate a future rebellion. I came here, Sir—I do not hesitate to avow in open Senate on the first occasion when I have undertaken to address this august body, that I came here as a representative, not of a conservative radicalism, but of a radical radicalism, which believes in doing, and not in half doing."



A. W. Corbett

HENRY W. CORBETT.



HENRY W. CORBETT was born at Westboro, Massachusetts, February 18, 1827. His father, Elijah Corbett, established one of the first ax manufactories in Massachusetts. In 1832, he removed to White Creek, New York, and subsequently settled in the town of Jackson, Washington County, New York. At the age of thirteen, Henry entered upon a clerkship in a store at Cambridge, New York, on a salary of fifty dollars a year. Here he remained two years, and about nine months of the time attended the Cambridge Academy. The following year he was a clerk in the establishment of Proudfit & Fitch, Salem, Washington County, New York.

In the spring of 1843, he went to New York City with letters of recommendation from his former employers, to enter upon a new life in the great metropolis. After much effort, he succeeded in obtaining a situation in a retail dry-goods store, his salary being \$3 50 per week, out of which he paid his board, and slept on the counter. After remaining in this position for one year, he succeeded in obtaining a situation in a wholesale dry-goods store in Cedar Street, New York, where he continued as long as the firm remained in trade. In the fall of 1855, he was offered a situation in the dry-goods house of Williams, Bradford & Co. He remained with this firm until he conceived the idea of shipping a stock of goods to the Territory of Oregon. In the fall of 1850, he informed his employers that he desired to embark in this enterprise; and he proposed to them, if they would join him in the enterprise, he would divide the profits with them. They inquired of him what he knew of the country and its prospects.

They found him thoroughly informed on all points, and so implicitly did they believe in the success of any enterprise that his judgment approved, that they at once furnished him with a stock of goods, and cash to the amount of \$24,000—a large amount of credit for a young man whose capital amounted to only \$1,000, from his savings. After an absence of a year and a half, he returned to New York, repaid the \$24,000—then divided his profits of \$20,000 with those who assisted him. He was offered a co-partnership with his friends in New York, which he declined.

In February, 1853, he was married to Miss Cara E. Jagger, of Albany, New York; and in the following May he returned to Portland, Oregon, where he resumed his business, and was greatly prospered.

He now has an extensive wholesale hardware house in Portland, having two resident partners in that place, and one in New York. All his business enterprises have been attended with marked success, which his strict integrity and untiring energy have well deserved.

Mr. Corbett has been largely interested in many of the great enterprises for the development of Oregon, such as the establishment of manufactories of woolen goods, the erection of furnaces for the manufacture of iron, and the building of steamboats.

In 1866, he took the contract for carrying the daily mail from Lincoln, California, to Portland, Oregon, a distance of six hundred and twenty-four miles, stocked the road with four-horse teams and coaches, to the great satisfaction of the community.

In politics, Mr. Corbett was in early life a Whig. On the organization of the Republican party of Oregon in 1860, he was chosen chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. The energy with which this campaign was conducted, reduced the Democratic majority from about twenty-five hundred to thirteen. Hon. D. Logan, the Republican candidate for Congress, was defeated by only this small majority.

On the breaking out of the war, Mr. Corbett saw the importance of uniting all loyal men under the name of the Union party, for the

purpose of crushing out the party of Secession in the State. By the prompt action of the Republican Central Committee in making a call early in 1862, for all Union men to join them in a Convention, to be held at Eugene City, the peril of the State was averted. Mr. Corbett was an active member of that convention, and was instrumental in nominating a ticket that carried the State by about twenty-seven thousand majority. During the war he was active in raising money for the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and contributed liberally for these as well as other worthy objects.

Mr. Corbett was chosen as one of the delegates to the Chicago Convention of 1860, that nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency. He was a member of the Republican National Convention of 1868, which nominated Grant and Colfax.

Fully absorbed in his extensive business, and in his efforts to promote the success of the Union party in his State, Mr. Corbett has not been an ardent aspirant for political preferment. For some years he served the City of Portland as a member of its Council, and held the office of City Treasurer. On the 29th of September, 1866, he was elected a Senator of the United States.

In the Senate, Mr. Corbett has devoted himself with conscientious faithfulness to the discharge of his important duties. He has given much patient thought to the great financial questions which are now demanding attention. On these important topics he has delivered several speeches, which are marked by sound reasoning and wise deductions. On the 11th of March, 1868, he addressed the Senate on the Funding Bill, concluding his remarks as follows :

" When we look to the future of this great Republic, embracing twenty-three degrees in longitude by fifty-seven degrees of latitude, with all varieties of climate, producing the most delicate and delicious fruits of the South, with abundance of the more substantial productions of the temperate zone, and the hardy productions of the North — when we contemplate this vast and varied country, its climate, its production for the sustenance, comfort, and luxury of man, the vast resources of all its varied hidden riches of the earth, comprising metals

for all the most substantial and useful arts of life, with all the most precious metals to tempt the cupidity of man; test the bowels of the earth, it sends forth its fatness in living streams of oil like the perennial fountain; add to these our beds of coal, our forests of timber, our mountains of iron, where is its equal? Have we the capacity to make them useful?—who doubts it? With all the thousands of inventors, combining the greatest inventive genius of the world, we can outstrip all other nations combined. A population from every land and nation under the sun, a land now happily free from the oppressor's rod, to be rebuilt upon a firm and enduring foundation, made sacred and cemented by the blood of a million of our noblest sons.

"Therefore, let us not crown this temple, hewn by the sweat of so many brows, reared by the blood of so many brave lads, with the cap-stone of repudiation. Let us do nothing, as a great and noble and suffering people, that shall detract from the honor of those that lie silent and cold in their blood-bought graves, with naught but their country's banner over them. To me, Mr. President, my duty is plain; my duty to the men that came forward to supply our suffering army, to succor our noble boys in the day of the national darkness and despair, and to the capitalists of Germany, of Frankfort, that took our securities, and spewed out the rebel bonds, and gave to us money, the sinew of war, to assist us in maintaining the life of the nation. I need not the example of other nations to tell me what is right between man and man or between nation and nation; it needs not the shrewd argument of a lawyer to tell me what is due to my creditor. If there is any one thing that I regard more sacred in life, after my duty to my God, it is to fulfill all my engagements, both written and implied, and nothing shall drive me from this position.

"If this be important and right in private affairs, how much more important in public affairs."



Wm. H. W. H. W. H.

REVERDY JOHNSON.



ONE of the few remaining statesmen of the times who link the present with the past, is REVERDY JOHNSON, Senator from Maryland. JOHN JOHNSON, his father, was an eminent lawyer, who held the offices of Attorney General, Judge of the Court of Appeals, and Chancellor of Maryland. His mother was of French ancestry. The name of her family, REVARDI, is perpetuated, with a slight orthographic alteration in that of her distinguished son.

REVERDY JOHNSON was born in Annapolis, Maryland, May 21, 1796. He entered the Primary Department of St. John's College, in his native town, when six years old. Here he pursued his studies for ten years. At the age of sixteen he left the institution without graduating, yet having pursued a thorough course of classical and mathematical training.

On leaving college, he commenced the study of the law, under the direction of his father.

One day, as the young law-student was poring over his books, news came that the British were about to make an attack on Washington. The whole community was aroused, and a company of volunteers was hastily formed to aid in defending the Capital. Young Johnson joined them on such a sudden impulse that he did not stop to put off the slippers which he wore in the law-office; and the consequence was that, before he had marched half-way to Washington, he was completely barefoot. The company reached the neighborhood of Washington in time to participate in the battle of Bladensburg, on the 24th of August, 1814. Soon after this

engagement young Johnson was attacked with a serious illness, which put a sudden termination to his military history.

Having resumed his law studies, Reverdy Johnson was admitted to the bar in 1815, and was soon after appointed Deputy Attorney General for Prince George's and St. Mary's counties.

In 1817 he removed to Baltimore, and while engaged in an extensive practice of the law, held the office of Chief Commissioner of Insolvent Debtors.

In addition to regular professional and official duties, he was, during a number of years, partially occupied in the literary labor of reporting judicial decisions, which were published in seven volumes, under the title of "Johnson's Maryland Reports."

In 1821 he was elected to the State Senate of Maryland for a term of five years, and was re-elected for a second term, but resigned after serving two years.

During twenty years which followed, he gave his undivided attention to professional business. In legal learning and skill he reached a rank and reputation unsurpassed in the American Bar. He was employed in arguing many important cases before the Supreme Court of the United States. His services were sought in distant portions of the United States and in Europe. He made journeys to New Orleans and California, to try important cases. On one occasion he went to England, as attorney in an important case which involved a heavy claim against the Government of the United States.

In 1833 Mr. JOHNSON met with an accident, which resulted in a partial loss of his eyesight. Mr. Stanley, a member of Congress from North Carolina, having been challenged to fight a duel by Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, went to Mr. Johnson's residence, near Baltimore, for the purpose of preparing for the conflict. He requested Mr. Johnson to assist him in some preparatory practice with his pistol. Mr. Stanley succeeding

very badly in his practice, Mr. Johnson took the pistol, and fired at a small locust tree, about ten feet distant. He struck the target, but the ball rebounded and entered his left eye. A surgeon was summoned, and the bullet was extracted; but the sight of the eye was lost.

Mr. Johnson was a Whig in politics; yet, when the memorable Presidential contest of 1824 was narrowed down to a choice between Jackson and Adams, he favored the election of the former. He frankly told Mr. Clay, whose warm friend he was, that the great political error of his life was casting his influence for Adams instead of Jackson.

In 1845 Mr. Johnson was elected a United States Senator from Maryland, and, differing from a majority of his party, he favored the Mexican war. On the accession of General Taylor to the Presidency, in 1849, Mr. Johnson was appointed Attorney General of the United States, whereupon he resigned his seat in the Senate. On the death of President Taylor, he resigned his office, and resumed his private practice.

When the wicked policy of the Southern leaders had led the people to the verge of rebellion, Mr. Johnson, although in private life, did not fail to raise his voice and use his influence against the heresy of secession. In December, 1860, at the close of an argument before the Supreme Court, he pronounced one of the most eloquent eulogies on the Union, and presented one of the most thrilling delineations of the wickedness and folly involved in its overthrow, to be found in the annals of American oratory.

On the 10th of January, 1861, when Maryland was poised between loyalty and rebellion, Mr. Johnson addressed an assemblage of many thousands of the citizens of Baltimore, in an overwhelming argument against the crime of secession. He administered a withering rebuke to South Carolina, which he characterized as "that gallant State of vast pretensions, but little power." "If," said he, "the cannon maintains the

honor of our standard, and blood is shed in its defence, it will be because the United States cannot permit its surrender without indelible disgrace and foul abandonment of duty."

This speech gave Mr. Johnson rank among the foremost defenders of the Union. In 1862 the Legislature of Maryland elected him as a Union man to the United States Senate, in which he took his seat in March, 1863.

Mr. Johnson has been one of the most faithful and laborious members of the Senate. He has generally acted with the minority, and yet has frequently shown that he is not bound by party trammels. In March, 1864, he gave his vote in favor of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

As a member of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, in the Thirty-Ninth Congress, he generally opposed the views of the majority and favored the immediate re-admission of the Southern States.

He opposed what was called the "Military Reconstruction Bill" when it was under discussion in the Senate, but when it was returned with the President's objections, he spoke and voted in favor of its final passage over the veto, as the mildest terms which the South were likely to obtain. He regarded it as the means through which the South might be "rescued and restored ere long to prosperity and a healthful condition, and the free institutions of our country preserved."

Mr. JOHNSON is of medium stature, with such a build of body as indicates great physical endurance. His countenance habitually wears a sober, serious expression, seldom relaxing into a smile. He possesses agreeable manners, combined with a dignity appropriate to his venerable age and high position. As a speaker, his manner attracts and retains the attention, which his matter abundantly repays. He enters with zeal into whatever subject of discussion deserves his attention and demands his utterance.



John M. Thayer

JOHN M. THAYER.



JOHN MILTON THAYER was born in Bellingham, Massachusetts, January 24, 1820. He graduated at Brown University, and studied law. In 1854, he emigrated to Nebraska, and settled there simultaneously with the organization of the Territory, selecting Omaha as the place of his residence.

Indian difficulties shortly after occurring, the Governor organized the militia, and appointed Mr. Thayer Brigadier-General, and gave him the command of the force. The Legislature, at its ensuing session, created the office of Major-General, and elected him as the incumbent. He was frequently selected to go as Commissioner to the Indians, for the purpose of stopping their hostilities, and, on several occasions, commanded expeditions against them.

From his youth, Mr. Thayer was imbued with the spirit of Anti-Slavery, and hence he early espoused the principles and course of the Republican party. In 1859, he was elected a member of the Convention for framing a State Constitution. Though an ardent Republican, he received this election from a county strongly Democratic—having the highest vote on the ticket.

In 1860, Mr. Thayer was elected to the higher branch of the Territorial Legislature. On the breaking out of the Rebellion, he applied immediately to the War Department for authority to raise a regiment of volunteers, and was instrumental in rallying the First Nebraska Infantry. Of this Regiment he was made Colonel, and served with it in Missouri during the first six months of the War. His regiment, with others, was selected by General Halleck to proceed to Fort Henry. On reaching that place, General Grant assigned to Colonel Thayer command of all the reinforcements which were

arriving, and sent him down the Tennessee, and up the Cumberland, to Fort Donelson, while General Grant himself marched across by land. Colonel Thayer was then placed in command of the Second Brigade in General Lew Wallace's Division, and was engaged in the hardest of the fighting on the last day of the battle.

At the battle of Shiloh, Colonel Thayer had command of the extreme right, and for good conduct received the strong commendations of his commanders, and was made Brigadier-General.

A prominent share in the great struggles of the War seems to have fallen to General Thayer. He led one of the storming columns at Chickasaw Bayou; his horse was shot under him at Arkansas Post; he was through all the siege of Vicksburg, and was at the first and second capture of Jackson, Mississippi. He was afterward placed in command of the "Army of the Frontier," and with it participated in the battles of Prairie de Ann, Jenkin's Ferry, and other engagements. He was made a Brevet Major-General for "distinguished services."

On returning to his State, after the close of the War, General Thayer was elected a United States Senator for the term expiring in 1871.

Mr. Thayer belongs to that class of legislators who, while not given to much speaking, are yet prompt and ready to speak whenever necessity or the public service requires it. From his long residence near the frontier, and the varied intercourse he has had with the Indian tribes, probably no member of the Senate possesses a more extensive knowledge of matters pertaining to these savage people than General Thayer. Hence his speeches bearing upon the Indian question have a special interest for those less familiar than himself with their sentiments and character. We are impressed, as we read and ponder these speeches, that though brief and unpretending, they are, however, the words of a man who knows whereof he affirms, and testifies of that which he has seen. "Mr. President," he says, in one of these addresses, "I rise simply to correct two misapprehensions of the Senator from Maine, [Mr. Morrill,] into which he has been led. He

asks, where is there an Indian reservation which is not invaded to-day by the white people? Well, I respond to him by stating that there are five Indian reservations within the State of Nebraska, between which and the whites there has been the most perfect accord and friendship for the seven years past, not the slightest interference or collision between the Indians upon these reservations and the white settlers. That is my answer to his interrogatory. These troubles do not arise with the friendly Indians, but with the hostile Indians, who are away beyond Nebraska and Kansas, upon the plains, whose lands have not been invaded by the whites. Those who have committed these outrages and these murders are not the Indians whose lands have been interfered with by the whites. They are those who have come from their own section of the country down to the two Pacific Railroads, and there is where they are creating the difficulty. It is simply a question between civilization and barbarism. They are opposed to those two Pacific Railroads, and that is, after all, the real cause of the trouble."

In another speech, several days afterward, on the same general subject, Mr. Thayer remarked as follows:

"The Indians are opposed to the building of these two Roads (Pacific Railroads). There is no mistake about it. I have heard it from them myself. The reason they object is, that it cuts in two their buffalo range. The buffalo range, in certain seasons of the year, extends from away north of Nebraska down toward the Red River, and they think the Road will interfere with that. One Indian chief expressed his objection in this way: 'We do not object to the horse going through our country that goes so,' imitating in his manner the galloping of a horse; 'but,' he added, 'we do object to the horse that goes so,' imitating the noise of a steam-engine. That was his expressive way of giving utterance to his objection.

"The difficulty is, that the Indians do not like these Roads; and, hence, I have favored this bill, which proposes to open these two lines of road by taking the Indians away, and putting them on reservations to the north and to the south. * * *

When the Senate was preparing to proceed with the Impeachment Trial, Mr. Hendricks objected to Mr. Wade's being sworn, on the ground that being "interested, in view of his possible connection with the office, in the result of the proceedings, he was not competent to sit as a member of the court." Mr. Thayer spoke in answer to this objection, and from his remarks on the occasion, we make the following extract:

"I challenge the honorable Senator from Indiana to point me to one iota in the Constitution which recognizes the right of this body to deprive any individual Senator of his vote. No matter what opinions we may entertain as to the propriety of the honorable Senator from Ohio casting a vote on this question, he is here as a Senator, and you cannot take away his right to vote except by a gross usurpation of power. He is here as a Senator in the possession and exercise of every right of a Senator until you expel him by a vote of two-thirds of this body. Then he ceases to have those rights, and not till then. * * * In courts of law, if objections are made to any one sitting upon a jury, and he is excluded, an officer is sent out into the streets and the highways to pick up talesmen and bring them in to fill up the jury. Can you do that here? Suppose you exclude the honorable Senator from Ohio, can you send an officer of this Senate out into the lobbies or into the streets of Washington to bring in a man to take his place? By no means. I need not state that.

"Thus I come back to the proposition that we are a Senate, composed of constituent members, two from every State, sworn to do our duty as Senators of the United States; and when you attempt to exclude a Senator from the performance of that duty, you assume functions which are not known in the Constitution, and cannot for a moment be recognized. When you attempt to exercise the power, and do exercise it, are you any longer the Senate of the United States? The Senate, no other parties or bodies forming any part of it, is the only body known to the Constitution of the United States for this purpose, and the Senate is composed of two Senators from each State."



J. W. Patterson

JAMES W. PATTERSON.



JAMES W. PATTERSON was born in Henniker, a small farming town in Merrimack County, New Hampshire, July 2, 1823. His father was a direct descendant of William Duncan and Naomi Bell, from whom originated some of the most superior men which New Hampshire has produced. The subject of this sketch was, however, born in poverty, and inured to toil and hardship.

When eight years of age he went with his family to Lowell, Mass., where he remained until he was thirteen. In 1836, he went back with the family to his native town, and subsequently for two years worked on a farm, in winter attending the academy in Henniker village, two miles and a half distant. In 1836, he returned to Lowell, and obtained employment in a cotton mill. The agent of the mill, John Aiken, Esq., a gentleman of penetration, practiced in reading character, soon took him from the mill into his counting room, where he continued two years. While in this position he was a leading member of a debating society, conducted at that period with great spirit by the young men of Lowell. It seems to have been largely due to the aspirations awakened by this society, that, with the approbation of his friend Mr. Aiken, he resigned his place in the counting room, for the purpose of seeking a liberal education. In the ensuing winter he taught a district school in his native place, and in the spring of 1842, went to the city of Manchester, where his parents then resided, and there entered with all his energies upon his preparation for college. The study of a single year, with little or no instruction, sufficed to fit him for college. In 1844, at the age of

twenty-one, he entered Dartmouth College, and graduated with the first honors of his class in 1848. Subsequently for two years he was in charge of an academy in Woodstock, Conn., and at the same time he was pursuing a course of study with a view to the profession of the law. But becoming an intimate friend of Henry Ward Beecher, who at that period was accustomed to spend his vacations in Connecticut, he was induced through his influence to turn his attention to theology. In 1851, he entered the Theological Seminary at New Haven, of which the illustrious Dr. Taylor was then the leading spirit. In a single year he completed the prescribed studies of two, at the same time teaching in a ladies' seminary to pay his expenses.

From the Theological Seminary, Mr. Patterson was called back to Dartmouth College as tutor; and when the chair of Mathematics became vacant by the resignation of Prof. John S. Woodman, he was elected to that professorship. Subsequently, on the re-organization of the Departments, he was assigned to the chair of Astronomy and Meteorology, which he filled with conspicuous ability.

From 1858 to 1861, he was a member of the State Board of Education, and, as its Secretary, had the leading part of the work to do in preparing the Annual State Reports on Education. His duty as School Commissioner required him to address the people in various parts of the State, on the subject of Common School Education. The ability displayed by Mr. Patterson in these addresses, attracted the attention of the people, and caused them to demand his services in the wider fields of politics and statesmanship.

In 1862, he was sent to the State Legislature as a Representative of Hanover, the seat of Dartmouth College. His reputation and talents at once gave him a commanding position in that body.

In the spring of 1863, Mr. Patterson was elected a Representative from New Hampshire in the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was appointed on the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, and on that for the District of Columbia. In 1864, he was appointed a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution. In 1865, he was re-elected to Congress, serving on the Committee on Foreign Affairs,

and on a Special Committee on a Department of Education. In June, 1866, he was elected United States Senator for the term ending in 1873, and is now serving on the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that on the District of Columbia.

In the popular branch of Congress, Mr. Patterson more than justified the high expectations which his entrance into that body awakened. His duties as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia immediately made him acquainted with leading public interests and the prominent business men of Washington, and it is safe to say that from then till now there has been no member of either branch of Congress above him in the esteem and confidence of all classes in the District. His lively interest in free schools has especially won for him the regards of all connected with that cause in the District. To him belongs the honor of drafting and maturing the excellent existing School Law of the District, providing for the free education of all the children, without distinction of color, and placing the colored schools upon the same basis with the white schools. A crude bill looking to this result was presented at the time to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia; but such was the deference to Mr. Patterson in such matters, that the bill was sent to the House Committee, of which he was then Chairman, with the understanding that he should draft a School Law covering that whole subject. From his first entrance into Congress, he has been recognized by the people of the District as the special champion of education, and has frequently been called upon to promote this cause by public addresses. At the inauguration of the Wallach School House, the first free school edifice worthy of the cause erected in the National capital, July 4, 1863, Mr. Patterson delivered an address, which is one of the best, as well as one of the earliest of his efforts in furtherance of education in the District.

Among the best specimens of Mr. Patterson's eloquence, is his eulogy upon the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, delivered at Concord, New Hampshire, June 3, 1865, at the request of the State authorities. This discourse delineates the wonderful character

of the illustrious martyr with remarkable discrimination and comprehensiveness, while it often rises to the highest style of this species of commemorative eloquence. The following paragraph doubtless owes something of its terse and truthful brevity to the fact that the orator was enunciating the results of stern personal experience. He says of President Lincoln :

"Poverty brought labor and habits of industry; privations gave a broad experience and sympathy with those who eat bread in the sweat of their brows; the irrepressible impulses of a mind conscious of strength, induced study and thought. These were the sources of that intelligence, that tender sensibility to the misfortunes and sorrows of the humblest citizen, and that large executive ability which characterized his subsequent career."

Perhaps the ablest, most finished, and most eloquent of all his published discourses is that which he pronounced on the "Responsibilities of Republics," August 29, 1865, at Fort Popham, Me., on the 25th Anniversary of the planting of the Popham Colony. A single passage taken almost at random is here introduced. After a compact and philosophical statement of the fundamental ideas comprised in the American system, and of the process by which those ideas were developed into a Government, the orator adds :

"But the end is not yet. We, too, have work to do; for the foundations of the republic are not yet completed. We cannot escape the responsibility of those who build for posterity. The great architects of our system reared the framework, and other generations have labored faithfully and successfully upon it. The star-lit flag which symbolizes its existence, more beautiful than the pearly gates of morning closed with bars of crimson, has been unfurled over fleet, and camp, and court, but the broad substructure of this great nation cannot be settled firmly and compactly in its bed in a hundred years.

"I am a long time painting," says an old Greek artist; 'for I paint for a long time.' This is the laconic language of a universal truth. Whatever is destined long to survive, comes slowly to maturity. The primeval forests of cedar and oak, whose giant strength

has resisted the forces of decay through half the life-time of man, slowly lifted their gnarled and massive forms through centuries of growth. The earth's deep plating was laid, stratum above stratum, through the lapse of the silent, unchronicled ages; for it was to be the theater of man's historic career. While the old cathedrals of Europe have risen slowly to their grand and solemn beauty, kings, their founders, have moldered back to dust within their vaults, and the names of their architects have perished from memory. Succeeding generations have added a tower, a stained window, or a jeweled altar, and lain down to rest beneath their shadow, and the work still lingers; but there they stand, firm as the hills, perpetuating in histories of stone the moral life and intellectual growth of the world, through many of its most eventful centuries. These are but types of national life.

"From the foundations of Rome, eight centuries, crowded with the reverses and triumphs of a heroic people, had passed into history, ere she became the mistress of the world.

"The republic of Venice, too, which at first fled from Rome's insatiable lust of power, and hid herself in the islands of the sea, dropping her bridal ring into the Adriatic, while the white-haired Doge pronounced the '*Desponsatus te, mare, in signum veri perpetuæque dominii*,' wedded the waves to her sweep of power through thirteen hundred years of freedom."

One of his ablest speeches in the House was that which he delivered in 1864, on the Consular Bill, and which was recognized in Congress, at the State Department, and elsewhere, as an eminently able and exhaustive presentation upon that important subject. His speech on the Constitutional Amendment may also be mentioned as one of the best of the many able arguments made in the House at the time of the passage of that great measure. His services in the last two Presidential Campaigns have made his finished and popular eloquence familiar to every section of the country. On the stump he is perhaps surpassed by no orator in the country in the popularity and effectiveness of his eloquence. In all these efforts he deals

almost exclusively with the great philosophical principles of Government and of parties, appealing to the understanding, and not to the passions of his audiences.

In the Senate, Mr. Patterson has already reached a high position. His broad, liberal culture, the deliberative character of his eloquence, and his habit of grappling with subjects in their foundation principles, all combine to give him great influence in the Senate. He fills the seat vacated by Judge Daniel Clark, and it is a just and ample tribute to say of him that he adorns the place that for ten years was occupied by that able and eminent Senator.


Mr. Patterson seems to have been exceedingly fortunate in his career, but his success has been the natural result of the fact that every public duty to which he has successively been called, has been executed wisely and well. From his first entrance into public life he has been a favorite with all classes in his State, and in Congress as well as at home at the present time he has the respect of all as an honest, able, and enlightened Statesman.



Schuyler Colfax

SCHUYLER COLFAX,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT.

HE name of Colfax appears in Revolutionary history. General William Colfax, grandfather of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, commanded the life-guards of General Washington during the Revolutionary war. Subsequently to the war he was one of Washington's most intimate personal friends. The wife of General Colfax was a cousin of General Philip Schuyler.

Schuyler Colfax, son of General Colfax, and father of the Statesman, resided in New York, where he held an office in one of the city banks. He died soon after his marriage, and before the birth of his son.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax was born in the city of New York March 23, 1823. He attended the common schools of the city until he was ten years old. At this early age his school training terminated, and he launched into active life to acquire learning and make his way as best he could. The boy served three years as clerk in a store, and at the end of that time removed with his mother and stepfather, Mr. Matthews, to Indiana. They could have found no more attractive region in all the West than the place they chose for settlement—the beautiful region of prairies and groves bordering the River “St. Joseph of the Lakes.”

For four years following his removal to the West, the youth was employed as a clerk in a village store. At the age of seventeen, having been appointed deputy auditor, he removed to South Bend, the county town which ever since

has been his residence. He frequently wrote for the local newspaper of the town, and attracted attention by the perspicuity and correctness with which he expressed his views. During several sessions of the Legislature he was employed in reporting its proceedings for the Indianapolis Journal.

In 1845 Mr. Colfax became proprietor and editor of the "St. Joseph Valley Register," the local newspaper of South Bend. At the outset he had but two hundred and fifty subscribers, and at the end of the first year he found himself fourteen hundred dollars in debt. Being possessed of tact, energy, and ability, he pushed bravely forward in his laborious profession, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing his paper a success. A few years later his newspaper office was burned, without insurance, and the editor had to begin his fortune again at the foundation. Mr. Colfax applied himself with renewed industry to his work, and in a few years made the St. Joseph Valley Register the most influential paper in that portion of the State.

Mr. Colfax was, in 1848, a delegate and secretary to the Whig National Convention which nominated General Taylor. Although his district was opposed to his political party, his personal popularity was so great that in 1849 he was elected a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of Indiana. He was soon after offered a nomination to the State Senate, which he declined on account of the demands of his private business.

Mr. Colfax received his first nomination as a candidate for Congress in 1851, and was beaten by a majority of only two hundred votes in a district strongly opposed to him in politics. In 1852 he was a delegate to the Whig National Convention which nominated General Scott. He declined to be a candidate for Congress in the subsequent election, which went against his party by a majority of one thousand votes.

The succeeding Congress signalized itself by passing the Nebraska bill, which wrought a great change in public opinion throughout the North. The Representative from Mr. Colfax's district voted for this odious act. He came home and took the stump as a candidate for re-election. Mr. Colfax was put forward as his opponent, and the two candidates traversed their district together, debating before the same audiences the great question which agitated the public mind. The unfortunate member strove in vain to justify his vote, and render the Nebraska act acceptable to the people. He who had gained the previous election by one thousand votes now lost it by a majority of two thousand.

The Thirty-Fourth Congress, to which Mr. Colfax was then elected, convened December 3, 1855. At that time occurred the memorable contest for the Speakership which lasted two months, and resulted in the election of Mr. Banks. At one stage in the contest, an adroit attempt to foist Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, upon the House as Speaker, was defeated by an opportune proposition made by Mr. Colfax, by which the question was deferred and the result avoided.

On the 21st of June, 1856, Mr. Colfax delivered a memorable speech on the "Laws" of Kansas, which fell with decided effect upon Congress and the country, as a plain and truthful showing of the great legislative enormity of the day. During the Presidential campaign of that year, half a million copies of this speech were distributed among the voters of the United States.

While in Washington, Mr. Colfax was nominated for re-election, and, after a laborious canvass, carried his district, although the Presidential election went against his party. To each succeeding Congress Mr. Colfax has been regularly nominated and re-elected.

In the Thirty-Sixth Congress, Mr. Colfax was Chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads—a position in which he did good service for the country, by securing the

extension of mail facilities to the newly-settled regions of the far West.

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln, in 1860, was eminently satisfactory to Mr. Colfax, who entered with great spirit into the canvass, and did much to aid in carrying Indiana for the Republican party. During Mr. Lincoln's entire term, down to the day of his assassination, he regarded Mr. Colfax as one of his wisest and most faithful friends, whom he often consulted on grave matters of public policy.

At the opening of the Thirty-eighth Congress, December, 1863, Mr. Colfax was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. He has since been twice re-elected to this important office, on each occasion by a larger majority than before. He has displayed signal ability in performing the duties of an office of great difficulty and responsibility. His remarkable tact, unvarying good temper, exhaustless patience, cool presence of mind, and familiarity with parliamentary law, all combine to render him, as a Speaker of the House, second to none who have ever occupied its Chair.

In April, 1865, Mr. Colfax went with a party of friends on a journey across the continent, to San Francisco. The evening before his departure he called at the White House to take leave of President Lincoln. An hour after he grasped his hand with a cheerful and cordial good-bye, he was startled with the intelligence that the beloved President was assassinated. Before leaving for the Pacific, Mr. Colfax delivered a eulogy on the murdered President at Chicago, and afterward, by invitation, repeated it in Colorado, at Salt Lake City, and in California.

On his way westward, Mr. Colfax spent a few days among the Mormons at Salt Lake City, studying their organization with the eye of a statesman. "I have had a theory for years past," he said, in explaining the motives of his journey, "that it is the duty of men in public life, charged with a participation in the government of a great country like ours, to know as much as possible of the interests, developments, and resources of the country whose destiny, comparatively, has been committed to their hands." Brigham Young, in-

quiring of him what the Government intended to do about the question of polygamy, Mr. Colfax shrewdly replied that he hoped the prophet would have a new revelation on that subject, which would relieve all embarrassment.

The reception of Mr. Colfax along his route and on the Pacific coast was an ovation which revealed his great popularity. On his return, Mr. Colfax, by urgent solicitation, delivered in various cities and before vast audiences, an eloquent and instructive lecture describing adventures, scenes, and reflections, incident to his journey "Across the Continent." The proceeds of the delivery of this lecture were generally given to the widows and children of soldiers who had fallen in the war, and to other objects of benevolence.

On the 20th of May, 1868, the National Republican Convention assembled in Chicago. After unanimously nominating General U. S. Grant for President, the Convention nominated Hon. Schuyler Colfax for Vice-President, receiving on the first formal ballot a majority over all the distinguished gentlemen who had been named as candidates. This nomination was made unanimous and unbounded enthusiasm.

On the day following his nomination, Mr. Colfax received the congratulations of his friends in Washington, and in the course of a brief speech on that occasion, uttered the following noble sentiments: "Defying all prejudices, we are for uplifting the lowly, and protecting the oppressed. History records, to the immortal honor of our organization, that it saved the nation and emancipated the race. We struck the fetter from the limb of the slave, and lifted millions into the glorious sunlight of liberty. We placed the emancipated slave on his feet as a man, and put into his right hand the ballot to protect his manhood and his rights. We staked our political existence on the reconstruction of the revolted States, on the sure and eternal corner-stone of loyalty, and we shall triumph."

No public party ever made more popular nominations. Both candidates added special and peculiar elements of strength to the Republican ticket.

After one of the most important and exciting political campaigns in the history of the country, Mr. Colfax was, on the 3d of November, elected Vice-President of the United States, receiving, with the illustrious candidate for the Presidency, a large majority of both the electoral and popular votes.

Mr. Colfax was first married at the age of twenty-one to an early playmate of his childhood. After being for a long time an invalid, she died several years ago, leaving him childless. His mother and sister have since presided at his receptions, which, if not the most brilliant, have been the most popular of any given at the Capital. On the 18th of November, a fortnight after his election to the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Colfax was married to Miss Ella M. Wade, of Andover, Ohio. She is a niece of Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, and is a lady whose virtues and accomplishments fit her to cheer the private life, and grace the public career of her distinguished husband.

Mr. Colfax is of medium stature and compact frame, with a fair complexion, a mild, blue eye, and a large mouth, upon which a smile habitually plays. He has a melodious voice, a rapid utterance, and smooth and graceful elocution. Consistent in politics, agreeable in manners, and pure in morals, he has all the elements of lasting popularity.



W. A. R. R. R.

JOHN A. BINGHAM.



JOHN A. BINGHAM is a native of Pennsylvania, and was born in 1815. After studying at an academy, he spent two years in a printing office, and then entered Franklin College, Ohio, but poor health prevented him from advancing to graduation. He entered upon the study of law in 1838, and at the end of two years was admitted to the bar. From 1840 to 1854, he diligently and successfully practiced the profession in which he attained distinguished eminence. In the latter year he was elected a Representative in Congress, and has been a member of every subsequent Congress except the Thirty-eighth.

In 1864, Mr. Bingham was appointed a Judge-Advocate in the Army, serving six months in that capacity. He was subsequently appointed, by President Lincoln, Solicitor in the Court of Claims, and held the office until March 4, 1865, when he became a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress.

Mr. Bingham served as Special Judge-Advocate in the great trial of the assassination conspirators. Immense labor devolved upon him during this difficult and protracted trial. For six weeks Mr. Bingham's arduous duties allowed him but brief intervals for rest. He occupied nine hours in the delivery of the closing argument, in which he ably elucidated the testimony, and conclusively proved the guilt of the conspirators.

Mr. Bingham's success in this great trial attracted general attention, and awakened a wide-spread curiosity to know his history. Soon after the close of the trial, a correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* having expressed the deep interest he had felt in arriving at a well-

founded conclusion as to "the guilt of the prisoners and the constitutionality of the court," proceeded :

"Grant me space in your columns to give expression to my most unqualified admiration of the great arguments, on these two main points, presented to the Court by the Special Judge-Advocate-General, John A. Bingham. In the entire range of my reading, I have known of no productions that have so literally led me captive.

"For careful analysis, logical argumentation, profound and most extensive research ; for overwhelming unravelment of complications that would have involved an ordinary mind only with inextricable bewilderment, and for a literal rending to tatters of all the metaphysical subtleties of the array of legal talent engaged on the other side, I know of no two productions in the English language superior to these. They are literally, as the spear of Ithuriel, dissolving the hardest substances at their touch ; as the thread of Dædalus, leading out of labyrinths of error, no matter how thick and mazy. Not Locke or Bacon were more profound ; not Daniel Webster was clearer and more penetrating ; not Chillingworth was more logical.

"I feel sure that the author of these two unrivaled papers must possess a legal mind unrivaled in America, and must be, too, one of our rising statesmen. But who *is* John A. Bingham, who, by his industry and learning displayed on this wonderful trial, has placed the country under such a heavy debt of obligation ? He may be well known to others moving in a public sphere, like yourself, but to *me*, so absorbed in a different line of duty, he has appeared so suddenly, and yet with such vividness, that I long to know *some*, at least, of his antecedents."

Upon which the Editor remarked : "The question of our esteemed correspondent is natural to one who has not, probably, watched the individual actors on the great stage of public affairs with the interest of the historical and political student. We are not surprised that the arguments of Mr. Bingham before the Military Commission should have filled him with delight. It was worthy of the great

subject confided to that accomplished statesman by the Government, and of his own fame.

“When the assassins of Mr. Lincoln were sent for trial before the Military Court by President Johnson, the Government wisely left the whole management to Judge Holt and his eloquent associate, Mr. Bingham; and to the latter was committed the stupendous labor of sifting the mass of evidence, of replying to the corps of lawyers for the defense, of setting forth the guilt of the accused, and of vindicating the policy and the duty of the Executive in an exigency so novel and so full of tragic solemnity. The crime was so enormous, and the trial of those who committed it so important in all its issues, immediate, contingent, and remote, as to awaken an excitement that embraced all nations. The murder itself was almost forgotten by those who wished to screen the murderers, and the most wicked theories were broached and sown broadcast by men who, under cloak of reverence for what they called the law, toiled with herculean energy to weaken the arm of the Government, extended, in time of war, to save the servants of the people from being slaughtered by assassins in public places, and tracked even to their own firesides by the agents and fiends of Slavery. These poisons of plausibility, blunting the sharpest horrors of any age, and sanctifying the most hellish offenses, required an antidote as swift to cure. Mr. Bingham’s two great arguments, alluded to by our correspondent, have supplied the remedy. They are monuments of reflection, research, and argumentation; and they are presented in the language of a scholar, and with the fervor of an orator. In the great volume of proof and counter-proof, rhetoric and controversy, that for ever preserves the record of this great trial, the efforts of Mr. Bingham will ever remain to be first studied with an eager and admiring interest. That they came after all that has and can be said against the Government, is rather an inducement to their more satisfactory and critical consideration. For from that study the American student and citizen must, more than ever, realize how irresistible is Truth when in conflict with Falsehood, and how poor and puerile are all the pro-

fessional tricks of the lawyer when opposed to the moral power of the patriot."

In Congress, Mr. Bingham has had a distinguished career, marked by important services to the country. In the Thirty-seventh Congress he was earnest and successful in advocating many important measures to promote the vigorous prosecution of the war, which had just begun. Returning to Congress in 1865, after an absence of two years, he at once took a prominent position. Upon the formation of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, December 14, 1865, he was appointed one of the nine members on the part of the House. He was active in advocating the great measures of Reconstruction which were proposed and passed in the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses. The House of Representatives having resolved that Andrew Johnson should be impeached for "high crimes and misdemeanors," Mr. Bingham was appointed on the Committee to which was intrusted the important duty of drawing up the Articles of Impeachment. This work having been done to the satisfaction of the House, Mr. Bingham was elected Chairman of the Managers to conduct the Impeachment of the President before the Senate. On him devolved the duty of making the closing argument. His speech on this occasion ranks among the greatest forensic efforts of any age. He began the delivery of his argument on Monday, May 4th, and occupied the attention of the Senate and a vast auditory on the floor and in the galleries during three successive days. At the close of his argument, the immense audience in the galleries, wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, gave vent to such an unanimous and continued outburst of applause as had never before been heard in the Capitol. Ladies and gentlemen, who could not have been induced deliberately to trespass on the decorum of the Senate, by whose courtesy they were admitted to the galleries, overcome by their feelings, joined in the utterance of applause, knowing that for so doing the Sergeant-at-Arms would be required to expel them from the galleries. The history of the country records no similar tribute to the oratorial efforts of the ablest advocates or statesmen. From so long and so well-sustained an

argument, it is impossible to select particular passages which would give an adequate idea of the whole. The following historical argument for the supremacy of the Law, will always be read with interest, whether as an extract, or in its original setting :

"Is it not in vain, I ask you, Senators, that the people have thus vindicated by battle the supremacy of their own Constitution and laws, if, after all, their President is permitted to suspend their laws and dispense with the execution thereof at pleasure, and defy the power of the people to bring him to trial and judgment before the only tribunal authorized by the Constitution to try him? That is the issue which is presented before the Senate for decision by these articles of impeachment. By such acts of usurpation on the part of the ruler of a people, I need not say to the Senate, the peace of nations is broken, as it is only by obedience to law that the peace of nations is maintained, and their existence perpetuated. Law is the voice of God and the harmony of the world—

'It doth preserve the stars from wrong,
Through it the eternal heavens are fresh and strong.'

"All history is but philosophy teaching by example. God is in history, and through it teaches to men and nations the profoundest lessons which they learn. It does not surprise me, Senators, that the learned counsel for the accused asked the Senate, in the consideration of this question, to close that volume of instruction, not to look into the past, not to listen to its voices. Senators, from that day when the inscription was written upon the graves of the heroes of Thermopylæ, 'Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their laws,' to this hour, no profounder lesson has come down to us than this: that through obedience to law comes the strength of nations and the safety of men.

"No more fatal provision ever found its way into the constitutions of States than that contended for in this defense which recognizes the right of a single despot or of the many to discriminate in the administration of justice between the ruler and the citizen, between the strong and the weak. It was by this unjust discrimination that Ar-

astides was banished because he was just. It was by this unjust discrimination that Socrates, the wonder of the Pagan world, was doomed to drink the hemlock because of his transcendent virtues. It was in honorable protest against this unjust discrimination that the great Roman Senator, father of his country, declared that the force of law consists in its being made for the whole community.

“Senators, it is the pride and boast of that great people from whom we are descended, as it is the pride and boast of every American, that the law is the supreme power of the State, and is for the protection of each by the combined power of all. By the Constitution of England the hereditary monarch is no more above the law than the humblest subject; and by the Constitution of the United States the President is no more above the law than the poorest and most friendless beggar in your streets. The usurpations of Charles I. inflicted untold injuries upon the people of England, and finally cost the usurper his life. The subsequent usurpations of James II.—and I only refer to it because there is between his official conduct and that of this accused President the most remarkable parallel that I have ever read in history—filled the brain and heart of England with the conviction that new securities must be taken to restrain the prerogatives asserted by the Crown, if they would maintain their ancient constitution and perpetuate their liberties. It is well said by Hallam that the usurpations of James swept away the solemn ordinances of the legislature. Out of those usurpations came the great revolution of 1688, which resulted in the dethronement and banishment of James, in the elevation of William and Mary, in the immortal Declaration of Rights.

“I ask the Senate to notice that these charges against James are substantially the charges presented against this accused President and confessed here of record, that he has suspended the laws, and dispensed with the execution of the laws, and in order to do this has usurped authority as the Executive of the nation, declaring himself entitled under the Constitution to suspend the laws and dispense with their execution. He has further, like James, issued a commission contrary to law. He has further, like James, attempted to control the appropriated money

of the people contrary to law. And he has further, like James, although it is not alleged against him in the articles of impeachment, it is confessed in his answer, attempted to cause the question of his responsibility to the people to be tried, not in the King's Bench, but in the Supreme Court, when that question is alone cognizable in the Senate of the United States. Surely, Senators, if these usurpations, if these endeavors on the part of James thus to subvert the liberties of the people of England, cost him his crown and kingdom, the like offenses committed by Andrew Johnson ought to cost him his office, and subject him to that perpetual disability pronounced by the people through the Constitution upon him for his high crimes and misdemeanors. *

* * I ask you, Senators, how long men would deliberate upon the question whether a private citizen, arraigned at the bar of one of your tribunals of justice for a criminal violation of the law, should be permitted to interpose a plea in justification of his criminal act that his only purpose was to interpret the Constitution and laws for himself, that he violated the law in the exercise of his prerogative to test its validity hereafter at such day as might suit his own convenience in the courts of justice. Surely, it is as competent for the private citizen to interpose such justification in answer to crime in one of your tribunals of justice, as it is for the President of the United States to interpose it, and for the simple reason that the Constitution is no respecter of persons, and vests neither in the President nor in the private citizen judicial power. * * *

"Can it be, that by your decree you are at last to make this discrimination between the ruler of the people and the private citizen, and allow him to interpose his assumed right to interpret judicially your Constitution and laws? Are you solemnly to proclaim by your decree:

"Plate sin with gold,
And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;
Arm it in rags; a pigmy's straw doth pierce it?"


"I put away the possibility that the Senate of the United States, equal in dignity to any tribunal in the world, is capable of recording any such decision even upon the petition and prayer of this accused

and guilty President. Can it be that by reason of his great office the President is to be protected in his high crimes and misdemeanors, violative alike of his oath, of the Constitution, and of the express letter of your written law enacted by the legislative department of the Government? * * *

"I ask you, Senators, to consider that I speak before you this day in behalf of the violated law of a free people who commission me. I ask you to remember that I speak this day under the obligations of my oath. I ask you to consider that I am not insensible to the significance of the words of which mention was made by the learned counsel from New York: justice, duty, law, oath. I ask you to remember that the great principles of constitutional liberty for which I this day speak, have been taught to men and nations by all the trials and triumphs, by all the agonies and martyrdoms of the past; that they are the wisdom of the centuries uttered by the elect of the human race who were made perfect through suffering.

"I ask you to consider that we stand this day pleading for the violated majesty of the law, by the graves of a half million of martyred hero-patriots who sacrificed themselves for their country, the Constitution, and the laws, and who by their sublime example have taught us that all must obey the law; that none are above the law; that no man lives for himself alone, but each for all; that some must die that the state may live; that the citizen is at best but for to-day, while the Commonwealth is for all time; and that position, however high—patronage, however powerful—cannot be permitted to shelter crime to the peril of the Republic."

THADDEUS STEVENS.

HE picturesque mountainous region known as Caledonia County, in the State of Vermont, was the birth place of Thaddeus Stevens. His father was Joshua Stevens, and his mother's maiden name was Sarah Morrill. "My father," said Thaddeus Stevens, near the close of his life, "was not a well-to-do man, and the support and education of the family depended on my mother. She worked night and day to educate me. I was feeble and lame in my youth; and as I couldn't work on the farm, she concluded to give me an education. I tried to repay her afterward, but the debt of a child to his mother is one of the debts we can never pay. The greatest gratification of my life resulted from my ability to give my mother a farm of two hundred and fifty acres and a dairy of fourteen cows, and an occasional bright gold piece, which she loved to deposit in the contribution box of the Baptist church which she attended. This always gave her much pleasure and me much satisfaction. My mother was a very extraordinary woman, and I have met very few women like her. Poor woman! the very thing I did to gratify her most, hastened her death. She was very proud of her dairy and fond of her cows, and one night, going out to look after them, she fell and injured herself so that she died soon after."

Thaddens Stevens ever cherished not only an affectionate memory of his mother, but a warm attachment to the place of his nativity. Late in life, he called his immense iron works in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, Caledonia, after the name of his native county.

In seeking an education, he first went as a student to the University of Vermont, at Burlington. Upon the occupation of the town by

the British in the war of 1812, the institution was suspended, and young Stevens went to Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1814. He immediately removed to Pennsylvania, and first made his residence in the borough of York. Here he taught school for a livelihood, and read law carefully and steadily through the intervals of the day and night. The bar of York County then numbered among its members some lawyers of uncommon ability and distinction. They very strangely formed a plan to thwart the designs of the young school-teacher by the passage of a resolution providing that no person should be recognized as a lawyer among them who followed any other vocation while preparing himself for admission to the bar. The young student paid no attention to this resolution, but pursued the even tenor of his way until he mastered his studies, and then quietly repaired to one of the adjoining counties of Maryland, where he passed a creditable examination. He then returned to York, presented his credentials, and was regularly, though reluctantly, admitted.

In 1816, Mr. Stevens removed to the adjoining County of Adams, and settled in the now historical town of Gettysburg. Here he soon rose to the head of a profession which he ardently loved, and practiced with signal success through a long and laborious career.

Soon obtaining a reputation as one of the most acute lawyers and able reasoners in the State, he was employed in many of the most important cases tried in the courts of the commonwealth. He was especially pleased to be retained in causes where some injustice or oppression was to be opposed, or where the weak were to be protected against the machinations of the strong. In such cases he embarked with characteristic zeal, and no epithet was too forcible or too withering for him to employ in denouncing the evil-doer, and no metaphor was too bold for him to use in depicting the just punishment of wrong-doing. While still a very young man, he heard of a free woman who was held in the jail at Frederick, Maryland, as a slave. He instantly volunteered to become her counsel, and saved her from the decree that wanted only the color of an excuse to condemn

lier to servitude. Some years afterward, while on the way from Gettysburg to Baltimore, he was appealed to by the same woman to save her husband from being sold South by his owner, who was his own father. Mr. Stevens complied with the wishes of the poor woman by paying the full value of the slave to the unnatural father. As a lawyer, Mr. Stevens was the enemy of the oppressor and the champion of the poor and the down-trodden. Injustice and wrong, when perpetrated by the powerful and great, aroused his indignation and called forth terrible outbursts of denunciation. The same spirit was manifested in later years, when he denounced Chief-Justice Taney by saying that the Dred Scott decision had "damned its author to everlasting infamy, and, he feared, to everlasting flame."

Fierce as was the denunciation of Mr. Stevens against those whom he regarded as wrong-doers, he never had aught but words of kindness and encouragement for the poor and unoffending. In the practice of his profession at Gettysburg, Mr. Stevens was brought into the closest and most confidential relations with the people. They sought and followed his friendly advice in delicate and important matters, which in no way pertained to the laws or the courts. He was not only the legal adviser, but the personal friend of the entire community. The aged inhabitants of Adams County still remember his unaffected benevolence, and unobtrusive charities. No commanding benevolence, no useful public enterprise, nothing calculated to improve his fellow-men in the region where he lived, was projected or completed without his efficient and generous contribution. Pennsylvania College, in Gettysburg, has a noble hall bearing his name, which stands as a monument of his services in behalf of education.

Mr. Stevens' public political career began in 1833, when he was elected a Representative in the State Legislature. Possessed of the most practical common sense, and the most formidable power of debate, he soon became a leader. He was always foremost in every movement that contemplated the improvement of the people. He began his legislative career by proposing and advocating a law to establish a free-school system in Pennsylvania. So great was the

ignorance at that time prevalent in Pennsylvania, that one-fourth of the adult population of the State were unable to write their names. The consequence was, that when Mr. Stevens proposed a system for taxing the people for the education of their children, a storm of obloquy and opposition arose against him. His own constituents of the county of Adams refused to second his educational movements. Again and again they instructed him to change his course. He answered with renewed efforts in the cause, and a more defiant disobedience of their mandates, until at last, overcome by his earnest eloquence and unfailing perseverance, they rallied to his support and enthusiastically re-elected him.

The school law was just going into operation with the sanction of all benevolent men, when a strength of opposition was combined against it which promised to effect its immediate abrogation. The miserly, and ignorant wealthy, used their money and their influence to bring it into disrepute, and procured the election by an overwhelming majority of a Legislature pledged to repeal the law. The members of the Legislature were on the eve of obeying instructions to expunge the school law from the statute book, when Thaddeus Stevens rose in his seat and pronounced a most powerful speech in opposition to the movement for repeal. The effect of that "surpassing effort" is thus described by one who witnessed the scene:

"All the barriers of prejudice broke down before it. It reached men's hearts like the voice of inspiration. Those who were almost ready to take the life of Thaddeus Stevens a few weeks before, were instantly converted into his admirers and friends. During its delivery in the hall of the House at Harrisburg, the scene was one of dramatic interest and intensity. Thaddeus Stevens was then forty-three years of age, and in the prime of life; and his classic countenance, noble voice, and cultivated style, added to the fact that he was speaking the holiest truths and for the noblest of all human causes, created such a feeling among his fellow-members that, for once at least, our State legislators rose above all selfish feelings, and responded to the instincts of a higher nature. The motion to repeal the law failed, and a

number of votes pledged to sustain it were changed upon the spot, and what seemed to be an inevitable defeat was transformed into a crowning victory for the friends of common schools."

Immediately after the conclusion of this great effort, Mr. Stevens received a congratulatory message from Governor Wolf, his determined political opponent, but a firm friend of popular education. When Mr. Stevens, soon after, entered the executive chamber, Governor Wolf threw his arms about his neck, and with tearful eye and broken voice, thanked him for the great service he had rendered to humanity. The millions who now inhabit Pennsylvania, or who having been born and educated there have gone forth to people other States, have reason to honor the intrepid statesman, who, anticipating the future, grappled with the prejudices of the time, and achieved a victory for the benefit of all coming generations.

This same zeal in behalf of education for the humblest and poorest was cherished by Mr. Stevens to his latest years. When the ladies of Lancaster called upon him for a subscription to their orphans' school, he declined the request on the ground that they refused admission to colored children. "I never will," said he, "Heaven helping me, encourage a system which denies education to any one of God Almighty's household."

The year 1835 was one of intense political excitement in Pennsylvania. Anti-Masonry had just blazed up with a lurid glare, which caused men to take alarm without knowing how or whence it came. Ever on the alert against whatever seemed dangerous to freedom, Mr. Stevens was outspoken in his denunciation of secret societies. George Wolf, a Mason, was then Governor, and a candidate for re-election; but Joseph Ritner, the Anti-Mason candidate, was elected. Party rancor was very bitter, and personal animosities sometimes broke out in violence. Mr. Stevens was challenged to fight a duel by Mr. McElwee, a member of the House, but instead of going to the field, he retorted in a bitter speech, full of caustic wit and withering sarcasm. That was a memorable period in the political history of Pennsylvania, when, in the partisan language of the day, "Joe Ritner was

Governor, and Thad. Stevens his oracle, and the keeper of his conscience." Canals and railroads were then originated, which tended to develop the material resources, as free-schools tended to promote the intellectual resources of Pennsylvania.

In 1836, Mr. Stevens was elected a member of the Convention to amend the Constitution of Pennsylvania, an instrument framed as early as 1776. The Convention was composed of many of the ablest lawyers and most distinguished orators in the State. Of the one hundred and thirty-three members of the Convention, none took a more active part than Mr. Stevens. He labored with great energy and ability to have the word "white," as applied to citizens, stricken from the Constitution. The majority were unable or unwilling to surmount their prejudices and reject the obnoxious word. So great was the disgust of Mr. Stevens with the work of the Convention, that he refused to attach his name to the amended Constitution.

In 1838, the political animosities of Pennsylvania culminated in the "Buckshot War," one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of this country. The trouble originated in alleged election frauds in Philadelphia County at the general election of 1838. The friends of Governor Ritner, who had been a candidate for re-election, maintained that he had been defeated by perjury and fraud. An address was issued soon after the election by the Chairman of the State Committee, advising the friends of Governor Ritner, until an investigation had been made, to regard the result as favorable to them. It seemed that Mr. Porter, the governor elect, would not be inaugurated, and that certain Democrats elected to the Legislature from Philadelphia would not be admitted to seats. On the day appointed for the assembling of the Legislature, three hundred men from Philadelphia appeared in Harrisburg with the avowed purpose of overawing the Senate and House, and compelling them to receive certain election returns which the Whigs regarded as fraudulent. At a certain point in the proceedings of the Senate, the mob rushed down from the galleries and took possession of the floor. The Speaker of the Senate, together with Mr. Stevens and some others, escaped

through a window from the violence of the mob. While the mob held possession of the Senate-chamber and the town, the House was the scene of equal confusion; the members splitting into several bodies under speakers of their own election, each claiming to be the legitimate Assembly. The Governor was perplexed and alarmed. He issued a proclamation calling out the militia of the State, and applied to the General Government for troops to suppress the outbreak which seemed imminent. The greater part of the militia forces of the State at once responded to the call, but the troops asked from the General Government were refused. At length an understanding was arrived at by which the Whigs yielded, a Democratic organization of the Legislature was effected, and Mr. Porter was inaugurated as Governor.

The Democrats having gained the upper hand, singled out Mr. Stevens as the victim of their vengeance. A committee was appointed "to inquire whether Thaddeus Stevens, a member elect from the county of Adams, has not forfeited his right to a seat in the House. The offense charged was contempt of the House in calling it an illegal body—the offspring of a mob. Mr. Stevens declined to attend the meetings of the Committee, and wrote a declaration setting forth the illegality of the inquiry. Mr. Stevens was ejected from the Legislature, although thirty-eight Democratic members protested against the action of the majority. Sent back to his constituents, he issued a stirring address to the people of Adams County, and he was triumphantly re-elected. An escort to the State Capitol was offered him by his enthusiastic constituents, but he declined the honor in a letter, in which occur the following remarkable, and almost prophetic, words: "Victories, even over rebels in civil wars, should be treated with solemn thanksgiving, rather than with songs of mirth." Another term of service, to which Mr. Stevens was elected in 1841, closed his career in the State Legislature.

In 1842, at fifty years of age, Mr. Stevens found his private business in a state of confusion, as a consequence of his unremitting attention to public and political affairs. He found himself insolvent, with

debts of over two hundred thousand dollars, principally through mismanagement by a partner in the Caledonia Iron Works. Resolved to liquidate this immense debt, he looked about for some more remunerative field for professional practice than the Gettysburg bar offered, and he removed to Lancaster. There he devoted himself with great energy and success to his profession, and in a few years fully retrieved his fortune.

In 1848, Mr. Stevens was elected to represent the Lancaster District in the Thirty-first Congress, and was re-elected to the succeeding Congress. He carried to the National Capitol a large legislative experience acquired in another field, and immediately took a prominent position in Congress. The subjects, however, which were acted upon by the Congress of that day were not such as called into conspicuous view the peculiar legislative abilities of Mr. Stevens.

After an interval of six years, when elected to the Thirty-sixth Congress, he entered upon that distinguished public career which has given his name a prominent place in American History.

He held the important position of Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means during three successive Congressional terms. In the Thirty-ninth Congress he was Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. In this and in the Fortieth Congress he was Chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction. These positions gave him a very prominent place in Congress and before the country.

The first measure of Mr. Stevens, which attracted great attention, was introduced by him on the 8th of December, 1862, to indemnify the President and other persons for suspending the privilege of the *habeas corpus*. This act assisted much to promote the successful issue of the war. It placed a power in the hands of the great and good Executive of the nation, which was absolutely essential to the suppression of the rebellion.

It was ever an object dear to the heart of Mr. Stevens to raise up and disenthral the down-trodden colored population of the South. Foreseeing that this would be accomplished as a result of the war, he became the originator and earnest advocate of many measures de-

signed to effect this end. As early as the first disaster of Bull Run he publicly favored the employment of negroes as soldiers, to aid in putting down the rebellion of their masters. In the summer of 1862, a bill was passed, granting to negroes the privilege of constructing fortifications and performing camp services. This fell far below the mission of the colored race in the war, as conceived in the mind of Mr. Stevens. On the 27th of January, 1863, he offered a bill in the House for the enlistment of the negro as a soldier. The bill passed the House, but was reported upon adversely by the Military Committee of the Senate. That body could only bring themselves to the point of agreeing to the enlistment of the negro as a cook! That which Mr. Stevens was unable to bring about by Congressional enactment, he had the pleasure, ere long, of seeing effected by force of the necessities of war.

With "hope deferred," Mr. Stevens impatiently awaited that great act of justice and necessity, the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. After this great Executive act was done, Mr. Stevens was not content until its perpetuity was secured by constitutional guarantees. Accordingly, on the 24th of March following, he offered in the House a joint resolution proposing an article in the Constitution abolishing slavery. A joint resolution of similar import had been previously offered in the Senate by Mr. Trumbull, and agreed to by that body, but it was rejected in the House. After consideration, the resolution of Mr. Stevens was laid over, and the joint resolution of Mr. Trumbull was again taken up on a motion to reconsider, and was finally adopted, January 31, 1865.

The biography of Mr. Stevens, written in detail, would be a complete history of the legislation of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses, down to the day of his death. At his instance, the Joint Committee on Reconstruction was created, and he occupied the position of Chairman on the part of the House. He strenuously advocated the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill. He had the honor of proposing in the House the great measure, now a part of the Constitution, known as the Fourteenth Amendment. As Chair-

man of the Committee on Reconstruction. Mr. Stevens reported to the House the Military Reconstruction Bill, under which all the States save Tennessee, which had previously been reconstructed, were destined to be restored to their former relation to the Federal Union.

Mr. Stevens had no patience nor forbearance with Andrew Johnson, whom he contemptuously described as "the man at the other end of the Avenue." He regarded him as a bad man, guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors." The annals of Congressional oratory contain nothing more impressive than Mr. Stevens' scathing and withering denunciations of the character and usurpation of the President. Cato was not more earnest and sincere in the utterance of his formula for the safety of Rome—*Carthago delenda est*—than was Mr. Stevens in his demands that the President should be removed from office. Though in an extreme condition of physical feebleness, Mr. Stevens consented to act as one of the Managers of the Impeachment on the part of the House. He proposed the Eleventh Article, which was regarded as the strongest against the President, and was selected as that upon which the first vote was taken. He pronounced one of the ablest arguments delivered before the "High Court of Impeachment," though unable to deliver more than the opening paragraphs in person.

So feeble was he at this time, and for some months before, that he had to be borne to and from his seat in the House, seated in a chair which was carried by two stalwart young men. As they were lifting him in his chair one day, he said: "How shall I get to the House, when you two die?" This playful expression not only illustrates his humor, but his resolute determination to do duty to the last.

For two years Mr. Stevens' health was gradually failing. Month after month he grew weaker and more shadow-like. It seemed, at last, that he was kept alive by force of an indomitable will and an intense desire to see the country safely through the dangers of reconstruction.

On the adjournment of Congress, July 28, Mr. Stevens was too fee-

ble to endure the journey to his home at Lancaster. He rapidly grew worse, until he expired at midnight on the 11th of August. The announcement of his death created profound sensation in all parts of the country. His remains, as they lay in state in the rotunda of the Capitol, were looked upon by thousands, but by none with so much affectionate interest as by multitudes of the colored race, for whose freedom, enfranchisement, and protection he had devoted so much thought and labor. His body was finally conveyed to its last resting place in Lancaster, amid demonstrations of sincere respect such as are manifested only at the obsequies of public benefactors.

At his death Mr. Stevens held but a small proportion of the property which he had accumulated during a long and laborious life. Three times he lost all he had. His latest failure was occasioned by the destruction of his Caledonia Iron Works by the rebels in their raid on Chambersburg. His friends immediately raised \$100,000, which they tendered him, but he would accept the gift only on condition that it should be turned over to the poor of Lancaster County. Another incident illustrates his kindness of heart towards the poor and the distressed: A few weeks before his death, while on his way to the Capitol, he met a poor woman in great trouble. She told him that she had just lost seventy-five cents, her little market money, and that she had nothing to buy food for her children. "What a lucky woman you are," said Mr. Stevens; "I have just found what you have lost!" putting his hand into his pocket and giving her a five-dollar bill.

Mr. Stevens, as he appeared in the House near the end of his life, is thus described by one looking down from the galleries:

"And now the members crowd around a central desk. The confusion of tongues, which amazes a spectator in the galleries, is hushed for a brief space. The crowds in the balconies bend eager ears. A gaunt, weird, tall old man has risen in his seat—the man who is often called the Leader of the House. Deep eyes, hidden under a cliff of brow, the strong nose of a pioneer of thought, shut, thin lips, a face pale with the frost of the grave, long, bony, emphatic limbs—these

cover the uneasy ghost which men call Thaddeus Stevens. The great days of his power are past. Perseus has slain his dragon, and now he would unchain the fair Andromeda for whom he fought, binding her brows with the stars. The new version is sadder than the old, for he will not live to see the glory for which he has wrought. He is wonderful even in his decline. Day after day he comes, compelling his poor body, by the might of the strong soul that is in him, to serve him yet longer. He looks so weary of this confusion which we call life, and yet so resolute to command it still. Erratic, domineering, hard, subtle, Stevens is yet so heroic, he wears such a crown of noble years upon him, that one's enthusiasm, and one's reverence, cling to him."

Thaddeus Stevens was the ablest political and parliamentary leader of his time. Tall in stature, deliberate in utterance and in gesticulation, with a massive head, and features of a classic mould, he seemed an orator of the old Roman type. As a speaker in his later years, he was never declamatory. "Those stilettoes of pitiless wit which made his caustic tongue so dreaded were ever uttered from the softest tones of his voice." He was seldom eloquent, yet every one gave him breathless attention. He possessed a personal influence and a magnetic power never separated from strong intellect and unbending determination, by which he was fitted to be a leader of men. He was unaffected in his manners, and impressive in conversation. He lived both in Lancaster and Washington in a simplicity of style befitting the leading Republican of his day.



W. B. Stokes.

WILLIAM B. STOKES.



WILLIAM B. STOKES was born in Chatham County, North Carolina, on the 9th day of September, 1814. In the month of March, 1818, his father started with his family to the new State of Tennessee. On his way thither he was killed by the passage of a wagon over his person. The care of a large family now devolved upon the mother, who, with limited means, was unable to educate, beyond the rudiments of an English education, the elder members of the family. Young William was an active, spirited boy. He married early, and betook himself to the pursuit of agriculture. He was an active, enterprising farmer, and possessed the good-will of his neighbors from his warm-hearted generosity, his candor and integrity of character.

He has held a number of posts of honor and trust, by the choice of his fellow-citizens.

In 1849 he was first elected to the lower branch of the Tennessee Legislature; in 1851 he was re-elected. In 1855 he was chosen to represent his District in the State Senate.

Mr. Stokes was always a Whig in politics, and devoted to the great leader of that party, Mr. Clay. In 1836 he voted for Hon. Hugh L. White for President; in 1840, for Gen. Harrison; 1844, for Henry Clay; 1848, for Gen. Taylor; 1852, for Gen. Scott; 1856, for Millard Fillmore; 1860, for John Bell; 1864, he was elector for Lincoln and Johnson.

In 1859 he was chosen to represent his District in the Thirty-sixth Congress, carrying the District by a majority of five hundred over Col. Savage, who had carried the District in previous elections, by a

majority of fifteen hundred. In the Thirty-sixth Congress he voted generally with the Republicans.

Gen. Stokes was always a bold opponent of rebellion, in all its forms and disguised names. He exerted all his power and influence to dissuade his fellow-citizens from entering the rebellion in 1861.

As soon as the Federal army appeared in Tennessee he hastened to join it, and was commissioned by Gov. Andrew Johnson to raise a regiment of cavalry, which he led gallantly through the war. It is justice to the brave men in this regiment to say that they did invaluable service to the Government on many a well-fought field.

At the close of the war Col. Stokes was honorably discharged, and was breveted, by President Johnson, Brigadier-General for his gallant services.

He was one of the leading Unionists that sought to reorganize the new State government.

In August, 1865, Mr. Stokes was elected a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress, but, with the remainder of the Tennessee delegation, was not admitted until July, 1866.

He was constantly a bold and unyielding advocate of the Congressional plan of reconstruction. He demanded that the Government of the rebel States should be placed in the hands of loyal people, whether white or black. He was an early advocate of equal rights for all men, regardless of race or color.

When it was proposed to modify the test oath, so that it could be taken by David F. Patterson, who had been elected a United States Senator from Tennessee, Mr. Stokes opposed the proposition with all his influence and eloquence. "On the night of the 22d of February last," said Mr. Stokes, "I delivered a speech in Nashville, and there and then declared, if admitted as a member of this House, I would freeze to my seat before I would vote to repeal the test oath. [Long continued applause on the floor and in the galleries.] I have made the same declaration in many speeches since then.

"Sir, I regard the test oath passed by the United States Congress as the salvation of the Union men of the South as well as of the

North. I regard it as sacred as the flaming sword which the Creator placed in the tree of life to guard it, forbidding any one from partaking of the fruit thereof who was not pure in heart. Sir, this is no light question. Repeal the test oath and you permit men to come into Congress and take seats who have taken an oath to the Confederate Government, and who have aided and assisted in carrying out its administration and laws. That is what we are now asked to do. Look back to the 14th of August, 1861, the memorable day of the proclamation issued by Jefferson Davis, ordering every man within the lines of the Confederacy who still held allegiance to the Federal Government to leave within forty-eight hours. That order compelled many to seek for hiding-places who could not take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate Government. When the rebel authorities said to our noble Governor of Tennessee, 'We will throw wide open the prison doors and let you out, if you will swear allegiance to our Government,' what was his reply? 'You may sever my head from my body, but I will never take the oath to the Confederate Government.' "

In the summer of 1867, Mr. Stokes was re-elected to Congress by a majority of 6,440.

The character of Mr. Stokes is thus drawn by Hon. J. S. Fowler, Senator from Tennessee:

"Gen. Stokes possesses by nature a constitution of the finest quality, combining great activity and power of endurance. No man possesses greater quickness of apprehension, nor can any one devote himself more ardently to study. His time is always employed. During his canvasses he studies all his own and his adversary's points by day and by night.

"He early espoused the cause of loyal enfranchisement, and advocated with great force and power all the questions involved in the principle settled in Tennessee as the basis of reconstruction. No more earnest and effective advocate of the principle that loyal men, without distinction of race, should govern the Nation and the States, has been found. His speeches are numerous, and had great effect on

public opinion, not only in Tennessee, but throughout the country. He has a restless anxiety for the success of every measure he espouses, until he has secured his point. As a debater he is open, bold, and ardent, and presses with force every argument and point in his case. He is a man of great skill, and seldom fails to take advantage of any unguarded point in the defenses of his opponent. Whoever makes a canvass with him must look well to his facts, or he will be overthrown.

"Gen. Stokes has been the architect of his own fortune. From humble circumstances he has made himself one of the favored children of the Republic. He has attained this position by honest industry, devotion to his country, and fidelity to his principles."



J. G. Field

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

THE triumph of energy and talent over poverty and adversity is illustrated in the lives of nearly all whose names are conspicuous in the Congress of the United States. In no case has this triumph been more signally achieved than in that of James Abraham Garfield, of Ohio. He was born in the township of Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, November 19, 1831. Abraham Garfield, the father, who had emigrated from New York, died in 1833, leaving a family of four children, of whom James was the youngest, dependent upon the exertions of a widowed mother.

James was permitted to attend the district school a few months of each year, and at intervals aided in supporting the family by working at the carpenter's trade. This not proving very remunerative, in his seventeenth year he secured employment as driver on the tow-path of the Ohio Canal, and soon rose to be a boatman. The dream of his ambition was to become a sailor on the lakes. The hardship and exposure incident to his life on the Canal brought on the fever and ague in the fall of 1848. When the young boatman had recovered from a three months' illness, it was too late to carry out his purpose of shipping on the lakes. He was persuaded to defer this step until the following fall, and meanwhile to spend a few months in attending a high-school in an adjoining county.

Early in March, 1849, young Garfield entered "Geauga Academy." Being too poor to pay the ordinary bills for board, he carried with him a few cooking utensils, rented a room in an old unpainted farm-house near the academy, and boarded himself. His mother had saved a small sum of money, which she gave him with her bless-

ing at his departure. After that he never had a dollar which he did not earn. He soon found employment with the carpenters of the village; and working mornings, evenings, and Saturdays, earned enough to pay his way. The summer vacation gave him a longer interval for work, and when the fall term opened he had money enough laid up to pay his tuition and give him a start again. The close of this fall term found him competent to teach a district school for the winter, the avails of which were sufficient to pay his expenses for the spring and fall terms at the academy. He continued for several years, teaching a term each winter, and attending the academy through spring and fall, keeping up with his class during his absence by private study.

By the summer of 1854, young Garfield, now twenty-three years old, prosecuted his studies as far as the academies of his native region could carry him. He resolved to go to college, calculating that he could complete the ordinary course of study in two years. From his school-teaching and carpenter work he had saved about half enough to pay his expenses. To obtain the rest of the money, he procured a life insurance policy, which he assigned to a gentleman who loaned him what funds he needed, knowing that if he lived he would pay it, and if he died the policy would secure it.

In the fall of 1854, young Garfield was admitted to the junior class of Williams College, in Massachusetts. He at once took high rank as a student, and at the end of his two years' course bore off the metaphysical honor of his class.

On his return to his Western home, Mr. Garfield was made teacher of Latin and Greek in the Hiram Eclectic Institute. So high a position did he take, and so popular did he become, that the next year he was made President of the Institute. His position at the head of a popular seminary, together with his talents as a speaker, caused him to be called upon for frequent public addresses, both from platform and pulpit. The Christian denomination to which he belonged had no superstitious regard for the prerogatives of the clergy, to prevent them from receiving moral and religious instruction on

the Sabbath from a layman of such unblemished character and glowing eloquence as Mr. Garfield.

It was not Mr. Garfield's purpose, however, to enter the ministry; and while President of Hiram Institute he studied law, and took some public part in political affairs.

In 1859 he was elected to represent Portage and Summit Counties in the Senate of Ohio. Being well informed on the subjects of legislation, and effective in debate, he at once took high rank in the Legislature. His genial temper and cordial address made him popular with political friends and opponents.

The legislature of Ohio took a bold and patriotic stand in support of the General Government against the Rebellion which was just beginning to show its front. Under the leadership of Mr. Garfield a bill was passed declaring any resident of the State who gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States guilty of treason against the State, to be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for life.

When the first regiments of Ohio troops were raised, the State was wholly unprepared to arm them, and Mr. Garfield was dispatched to Illinois to procure arms. He succeeded in procuring five thousand muskets, which were immediately shipped to Columbus.

On his return Mr. Garfield was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers. Soon after the organization of the regiment, he was, without his own solicitation, made its Colonel.

In December, 1861, Colonel Garfield, with his regiment, was ordered to Kentucky, where he reported to General Buell. He was immediately assigned to the command of the Eighteenth Brigade, and was ordered by General Buell to drive the Rebel forces under Humphrey Marshall out of the Sandy Valley in Eastern Kentucky. As Humphrey Marshall threatened the flank of General Buell's force, it was necessary that he should be dislodged before a movement could successfully be made by the main army upon the Rebel position at Bowling Green.

A citizen soldier, who had never been in battle, was thus placed in command of four regiments of infantry and eight companies of cavalry, charged with the duty of leading them against an officer who had led the famous charge of the Kentucky Volunteers at Buena Vista. Marshall had under his command nearly five thousand men stationed at Paintville, sixty miles up the Sandy Valley. He was expected to advance to Lexington, and establish the authority of the Provisional Government at the State Capital.

Colonel Garfield took command of his brigade at the mouth of the Big Sandy, and moved with it directly up the valley. Marshall heard of the advance, and fell back to Prestonburg, leaving a small force of cavalry near his old position to act as an outpost and to protect his trains. This cavalry fled before the advance of Colonel Garfield's force. He pushed the pursuit with his cavalry till Marshall's infantry outposts were reached, and then, drawing back, he encamped with his whole force at Paintville.

On the morning of the 9th of January, Garfield advanced with twenty-four hundred men, leaving about one thousand waiting for the arrival of supplies at Paintville. Before nightfall he had driven in the enemy's pickets. The men slept on their arms under a soaking rain, and by four o'clock in the morning were again in motion. Marshall's force occupied the heights of Middle Creek, two miles west of Prestonburg. Garfield advanced cautiously, and after some hours came suddenly in front of Marshall's position between the forks of the creek. Two columns were moved forward, one on either side of the creek, and the rebels immediately opened upon them with musketry and artillery. Garfield reinforced both his columns, but the action soon developed itself mainly on the left, where Marshall concentrated his whole force. Garfield's reserve was under fire from the enemy's artillery. He was entirely without artillery to reply, but from behind trees and rocks the men kept up a brisk fusillade.

About four o'clock in the afternoon reinforcements from Paintville arrived. Unwonted enthusiasm was aroused, and the approaching

column was received with prolonged cheering. Garfield promptly formed his whole reserve for attacking the enemy's right and carrying his guns. Without awaiting the assault, Marshall hastily abandoned his position, fired his camp equipage, and began a retreat which was not ended till he reached Abingdon, Virginia.

Now occurred another trial of Garfield's energy. His troops were almost out of rations, in a rough mountainous country incapable of furnishing supplies. Excessive rains had swollen the Sandy to such a height that steamboat men declared it impossible to ascend the river with supplies. Colonel Garfield went down the river in a skiff to its mouth, and ordered the *Sandy Valley*, a small steamer which had been in the quartermaster's service, to take a load of supplies and start up. The captain declared it impossible, but Colonel Garfield ordered the crew on board. He stationed a competent army officer on board to see that the captain did his duty, and himself took the wheel. The little vessel trembled in every fiber as she breasted the raging flood, which swept among the tree-tops along the banks. The perilous trip occupied two days and nights, during which time Colonel Garfield was only eight hours absent from the wheel. The men in camp greeted with tumultuous cheering the arrival of the boat, with their gallant commander as pilot.

At the pass across the mountain known as Pound Gap, Humphrey Marshall kept up a post of observation, held by a force of five hundred men. On the 14th of March, Garfield started with five hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry to dislodge this detachment. On the evening of the second day's march he reached the foot of the mountain two miles north of the Gap. Next morning he sent the cavalry along the main road leading to the enemy's position, while he led the infantry by an unfrequented route up the side of the mountain. While the enemy watched the cavalry, Garfield led the infantry undiscovered to the very border of their camp. The enemy were taken by surprise, and a few volleys dispersed them. They retreated in confusion down the eastern slope of the mountain, pursued for several miles into Virginia by the cavalry. The troops rested

for the night in the comfortable huts which the enemy had built, and the next morning burnt them down, together with everything left by the enemy which they could not carry away.

These operations, though on a small scale compared with the magnificent movements of a later period in the war, yet had a very considerable importance. They were the first of a brilliant series of successes which re-assured the despondent in the spring of 1862.

They displayed a military capacity in the civilian Colonel, and a bravery in the raw recruits which augured well for the success of the volunteer army. Colonel Garfield received high praise from General Buell and the War Department. He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, his commission bearing the date of the battle of Middle Creek.

Six days after the capture of Pound Gap, General Garfield received orders to transfer the larger part of his command to Louisville. On his arrival there, he found that the Army of the Ohio was already beyond Nashville on its march to the aid of Grant at Pittsburg Landing. He made haste to join General Buell, who placed him in command of the Twentieth Brigade. He reached the field of Pittsburg Landing at one o'clock on the second day of the battle, and bore a part in its closing scenes. His brigade bore its full share in the tedious siege operations before Corinth, and was among the foremost to enter the abandoned town after its evacuation by the enemy. He soon after marched eastward with his brigade, and rebuilt all the bridges on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad between Corinth and Decatur, and took post at Huntsville, Alabama.

General Garfield was soon after put at the head of the court-martial for the trial of General Turchin. He manifested a capacity for such work which led to his subsequent detail for similar service.

About the 1st of August, his health having been seriously impaired, he went home on sick leave. As soon as he recovered, he was ordered to report in person at Washington. He was made a member of the court-martial for the trial of Fitz-John Porter. Most of the autumn was occupied with the duties of this detail.

In January, 1863, General Garfield was appointed Chief of Staff of the Army of the Cumberland, which was commanded by General Rosecrans. He became the intimate friend and confidential advisor of his chief, and bore a prominent part in all the military operations in Middle Tennessee during the spring and summer of 1863.

The final military service of General Garfield was in the battle of Chickamauga. Every order issued that day, with one exception, was written by him. He wrote the orders on the suggestion of his own judgment, afterwards submitting them to General Rosecrans for approval or change. The only order not written by him was that fatal one to General Wood, which lost the battle. The words did not correctly convey the meaning of the commanding general. General Wood, the division commander, so interpreted them as to destroy the right wing.

The services of General Garfield were appropriately recognized by the War Department in his promotion to the rank of Major-General of Volunteers, "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga."

About a year before, while absent in the field, General Garfield had been elected a Representative to the Thirty-eighth Congress from the old Giddings district of Ohio. He accordingly resigned his commission on the 5th of December, 1863, after a service of nearly three years.

General Garfield immediately took high rank in Congress. He was made a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, of which in the Fortieth Congress he became chairman. In this committee his industry and his familiarity with the wants of the army enabled him to do signal service for the country. He soon became known as a powerful speaker, remarkably ready and effective in debate.

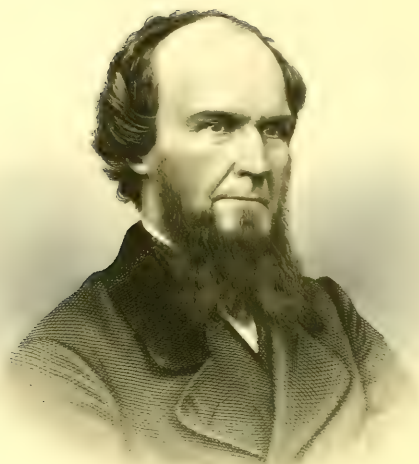
General Garfield was re-nominated for the Thirty-ninth Congress by acclamation, and was re-elected by a majority of nearly twelve thousand. He was made a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, in which he soon acquired great influence. He studied finan-

cial questions with untiring assiduity, and was spoken of by the Secretary of the Treasury as one of the best informed men on such subjects then in public life.

In 1866, General Garfield was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, in which he was made chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. At a time when everything seemed drifting towards greenbacks and repudiation, he took a bold financial position. As his views were opposed to those of many leading men of his party, and to the declarations of the Republican State Convention of Ohio, he seemed to hazard his re-nomination, but he did not hesitate firmly and fully to avow his convictions. His financial doctrines were at length adopted by the entire party, and fully indorsed in the Chicago Republican Platform. On the 24th of June, 1868, he was renominated and in October following was elected to the Forty-first Congress.

General Garfield is one of the most popular men now in public life. He is generous, warm-hearted, and genial. He is one of the most accomplished scholars in the country, and by laborious study of all subjects which require his attention, he is constantly adding to his breadth of intellect.

In person he is about six feet in height. He has a large head and a German cast of countenance, which a friend has aptly called a "mirror of good nature."



C. J. Nelson

CALVIN T. HULBURD.

THE immediate ancestors of Calvin T. Hulburt were of New England birth and Welsh descent. They emigrated to St. Lawrence County, New York, when that portion of the State was a wilderness. Here Calvin T. Hulburt was born, June 5, 1809.

Having enjoyed the limited advantages which the common schools of his neighborhood afforded, at the age of fifteen he entered an academy for the purpose of preparing for college. He finished his preparatory studies, and entered Middlebury College, Vermont, in 1825. During his four years' continuance there, he was known as a ready debater—one of the best Belles Lettres students of his class, and an easy and graceful writer. Though not allowed by the college regulations to be very prominent in politics, yet, during his college course, he was more than once left in editorial charge of the only Democratic paper then published in the vicinity of the college.

In 1830, Mr. Hulburt commenced the study of law with the venerable Abraham Van Vechten, of Albany. The following year he spent at the law school connected with Yale College, and after another year in law offices of Troy and Albany, he was admitted to the New York bar. During the three years above named Mr. Hulburt not merely read but studied law; and Judge Daggett, the then accomplished principal of the New Haven Law School, is known to have said that he made, while there, the best proficiency of any student ever connected with the institution.

All his friends anticipated for Mr. Hulburt a professional career of usefulness and honor. But when his professional studies entitled him to apply for admission to practice, his close application to books had

seriously impaired a strong constitution. He found, on repeated trials, that he could not bear the drudgery and close confinement of the office, and thus, at the very entrance to his chosen profession, he was constrained to turn anew to a more active business.

In 1839, associated with an enterprising brother, Mr. Hulburt purchased a few hundred acres of unimproved land, embracing a portion of the bed and banks of the St. Regis river, in the boundaries of the town of Brasher. In the development of the resources of the town, and especially the improvement of its water-power, the brothers soon built up quite a manufacturing village, and gave to it the name of *Brasher Falls*—which it still retains.

In 1842, Mr. Hulburt was elected, on the Democratic ticket, to the State Legislature, where, in the first month of the session, he so defined his own position and that of his county, in the financial crisis of the State, as ever afterwards to be heard with respect and attention. In the Assembly of 1843, he was placed at the head of the Committee on Canals—also that on Colleges, Academies, and Common Schools. As Chairman of the latter Committee, he made a Report setting forth the necessity of retaining in the School system of New York the office of County Superintendent, and suggesting various amendments in the laws; all of which were adopted. In 1844, he was again returned to the Assembly; and as Chairman of the Educational Committee, he was required once more to examine and review the whole educational system of the State, expose its deficiencies, and suggest remedies. In his labors and investigations pertaining to this important commission, Mr. Hulburt proved himself greatly efficient, and as already possessed of those liberal and enlightened views respecting the true theory of Public Schools which are doubtless destined to universal prevalence in the country. In his Report to the Assembly, he asks: "Is it too Utopian a hope to be indulged, that even in our day we shall be permitted to see education free—free in the district school, free in the academy, and free in the college—every advantage, every facility, free to all! Would not this be indeed Democratic?"

By order of the Assembly, Mr. Hulburd was directed to visit Massachusetts for the purpose of examining the workings of the Normal schools established there. Returning, he made a Report comprising the result of his observations and investigations. In this Report, he traced, in a clear and succinct manner, the origin, progress, and results of the establishment of teachers' seminaries in Europe, and in Massachusetts, so far as they had been tried there, and concluded by recommending the establishment of such an institution in the State of New York, and the introduction of a Bill accordingly. This Bill, though encountering much opposition, was sustained by arguments so able and conclusive by Mr. Hulburd, and others, that it became a law by a large majority.

After several years of voluntary retirement, in the fall of 1861 Mr. Hulburd was again elected to the Assembly, and was placed at the head of the Committee of Ways and Means, then as now the post of honor, and in the war exigences of the times, a position of peculiar responsibility. Early in the session he introduced important Resolutions, looking toward the adoption and maintenance of a sound financial system for the country.

In the State legislature, Mr. Hulburd had the reputation of being a clear and vigorous thinker and an effective debater. In these particulars he was classed with such men as Allen of Oswego, Bosworth of New York, Hoffman of Herkimer, Sampson of Rochester, and Seymour of Utica. It was remarked of him by Mr. Hoffman, that he was the ablest man—Silas Wright excepted—ever sent to Albany from St. Lawrence County.

In 1862, Mr. Hulburd was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress from what is familiarly known as the St. Lawrence District, and one of the most Radical in the State. He was made Chairman of the Committee on Public Expenditures, and a member of the Committee on Agriculture. During the first session he delivered his maiden speech on the President's Emancipation Proclamation. Of this speech it was well said, that "had an older member with a recognized position uttered that speech, it would have attracted more at-

tention than it received for the soundness and sagacity of its views. It will, whenever and wherever read, be regarded as a complete, scholarly, and convincing argument—remarkable for the positions taken, and yet more remarkable that subsequent events have fully confirmed its correctness.”

But chiefly was Mr. Hulburt conspicuous in the Thirty-eighth Congress for his examination and fearless exposure, in a Report to the House, of abuses and corrupt practices existing in connection with the New York Custom House.

Re-elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Hulburt was continued at the head of the Committee on Public Expenditures, and placed also on the Joint Committee on the Library. During this session, he spoke on the finances, Niagara ship canal enterprise, and other subjects. But his efforts were mainly directed to a continuance of the New York Custom-House investigation. By order of the House, he spent some time in Boston, examining the so-called Williams wine cases; and his report of these cases settled not only their legal status, but the moral status of several officials implicated. The report resulting from the New York investigation, while it exposed other flagrant abuses, brought out clearly the corrupt purposes and practices of the Collector of that port, so that a resolution was passed by a more than two-thirds vote, declaring that the Collector ought to be removed. The publication of this report produced a great sensation, not only in New York, but in the country generally, and is considered as one of the most fearless and masterly documents that ever emanated from the American Congress.

Mr. Hulburt, having been elected to the Fortieth Congress, was still continued Chairman of the Committee on Public Expenditures. He has also served on the Reconstruction Committee, occasionally speaking on subjects emanating from that committee. He also delivered a brief speech on the question of the Presidential impeachment.

Mr. Hulburt, though a Radical, has never been regarded as an extremist. On all subjects, his views have been characterized by liberality, comprehensiveness, and practical common sense.



Wm. H. Piley

WILLIAM A. PILE.



WILLIAM A. PILE was born near Indianapolis, Indiana, February 11, 1829. He received an academic education, studied theology, and became a clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a member of the Missouri Conference.

In May, 1861, he joined the First Missouri Infantry, as Chaplain, and was with General Nathaniel Lyon in his campaign embracing the battles of Boonville and Wilson's Creek. After the battle of Boonville, Chaplain Pile was sent out with a party of five men to look after the dead and wounded. Believing in the Scripture doctrine, "Let the dead bury their dead," he went after the living rebels and captured twenty-six of them with their arms, and several teams and wagons, which were of great value in pursuing the campaign; on account of his gallantry in this action, he was called the "fighting parson."

In September, 1861, he was commissioned Captain of a battery in the First Missouri Artillery. It was his battery of Parrott guns of which General Pope made such favorable mention during the siege of Corinth. In August, 1862, he was promoted to the Lieutenant-Coloneley of the Thirty-third Missouri Infantry. In December, 1862, he was promoted to the Coloneley of the regiment stationed at Helena, Arkansas, where he was placed in charge of the construction of the fortifications of that post.

In September, 1863, he was promoted to be Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and placed in charge of the organization of colored troops in the department of Missouri. In a few months, under great difficulties, he enlisted, armed, equipped, and sent into the field over seven thousand colored troops, who rendered efficient service on

several hard-fought fields. From Missouri he was ordered to an important command in Texas, and stationed at Brazos, Santiago, where he remained until the commencement of the Mobile campaign, in which he distinguished himself in command of his brigade, at Fort Blakely, being among the very first to enter the Fort, in the charge which resulted in its capture.

For his gallantry on that occasion he was breveted Major-General. He was not allowed to retire to private life on being mustered out of the army. His course during the war had made for him warm friends among the loyal men of Missouri, who pressed him into service as their candidate for Congress in the First District, against John Hogan, a Democrat.

In this contest he made many friends and admirers by his sterling qualities of both head and heart, and secured his election as member of the Fortieth Congress.

Mr. Pile has proved himself an able and efficient member of the House of Representatives. His career in life having placed him in contact with the various classes of society, from which stand-point he studied the people and their wants, his speeches are more noted for their plain common-sense view taken of pending questions, than for beauty of style or finished eloquence, although for these qualities they compare favorably with those of his peers in the House.

They evince his sterling patriotism and his concern for the welfare of the country in all its varied interests, urging "the largest freedom for all classes of people, not because of claims of peculiar races, but because freedom is the normal condition of all men. Therefore all would be benefited in proportion as any other class is benefited."

His speech pending the question of the impeachment of President Johnson may be considered as a fair sample of his forensic efforts, and from this we present two or three brief extracts:

"The President," said Mr. Pile, "has violated the plainest terms of the law solemnly enacted by the Congress of the people, according to and in pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution. Amid the momentous and multiform duties of this body arising from the con-

dition of the country emerging from a great war, with industrial pursuits deranged, business depressed, trade stagnant, values disturbed, the people overburdened with taxes, capital timid and withdrawn from business, and the public mind feverish and unsettled, every man going to his chamber at night with an undefined, and therefore all the more disturbing, conviction that ere he wakes in the morning some new danger may threaten the peace or life of his nation—amid all this, the highest officer known to the Constitution and the laws startles the nation, from the shores of the Atlantic, ‘where the sons of the Republic keep watch at the rising of the sun,’ to the golden shores of the Pacific, ‘where they keep watch at the going down of the same;’ has startled and moved the public mind and heart to its profoundest depths by a violation of law at once so flagrant and assumptive as to leave him without excuse, and to make his defenders on this floor morally participants in his crime. * * * What insolent and brazen effrontery is it for his friends on this floor to claim for him innocent intentions and pacific motives! It will be difficult to find, in the annals of all the past, so many acts of a single tyrant disclosing the same wicked purposes, and exhibiting the same criminal intentions, as are found in this record of infamy made by Mr. Johnson. * * *

“The violated supremacy and outraged majesty of the law demand the impeachment of the President of the United States for high crimes and misdemeanors. I urge and press his impeachment in the name and for the sake of the toiling millions of my countrymen, who are wearied and exhausted by the long and fearful struggle of the past, and the unsettled and deranged condition of the present. In the interest of the industrial pursuits of the country, unsettled and depressed as they are; in the interest of stagnated trade and commerce, and deranged and fluctuating finance; and for the sake and in the name of the humanity and civilization of the age, I ask that the official career of this man shall be speedily and for ever terminated, in order that the country may have rest, quiet, and prosperity, and that the nation may continue in its high career of progress and civilization.

“ In the name of the half-million of brave men whose ghastly corpses lie beneath the green sward of the South, and who died for liberty and loyalty, I demand the impeachment and removal of this man, who, in the exercise of the great power of his high office, seeks to betray into the hands of its enemies the country for which they fought and died.”



Horace Maynard

HORACE MAYNARD.



AMONG the early settlers in New England, were Sir John Maynard and Rev. John Cotton. They emigrated from England with other prominent Puritans, to escape the trouble with the Stuarts, and landed about 1635, in Boston, where Mr. Cotton was the first minister. Horace Maynard is a lineal descendant, in the seventh generation, on the father's side, from the former, and on the mother's side from the latter.

Horace Maynard was born in Westborough, Massachusetts, August 30, 1814. He received his academical education at Millbury, and his collegiate education at Amherst, where he graduated with the highest honors of his class. Immediately after his graduation, he was called to the East Tennessee University, at Knoxville, where he remained five and a half years, first as Tutor and Instructor in Modern Languages, and then as Professor of Mathematics. Meanwhile, having studied law, he was admitted to the bar, March 1, 1844, and soon entered upon a large and lucrative practice.

Mr. Maynard's political life commenced in 1852. He was a member of the Whig National Convention, which assembled in Baltimore in June of that year. Though he urged the nomination of Mr. Fillmore, he acquiesced in that of Gen. Scott; and as the electoral candidate for his Congressional District, supported him with great zeal during a protracted, arduous, and successful canvass.

The next year he was nominated by the Whigs a candidate for Congress, against the popular sitting member. The disaffection at the nomination of Gen. Scott took the form of serious opposition to Mr. Maynard, among the Whigs, and after one of the most spirited

contests ever conducted in the State, he was defeated, but without losing either the sympathy of his friends, or the respect of his opponents.

During the re-organization of parties which followed the withdrawal of the Whigs from the political arena, the ephemeral organization of the Know-Nothing order, and the formation of the great Republican party, together with the sectional controversy which took shape in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he was occupied in his professional labors, and was an inactive, though not an unobservant spectator.

In the Presidential canvass of 1856, the contest in Tennessee was between Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Buchanan, and the issue the same that subsequently was settled by appeal to arms, though at that time less rugged and clearly defined. "Our rights in the Union, or our rights out of the Union," was already the cry. In response to earnest solicitation, coming from not a few former opponents, Mr. Maynard consented to accept a place upon the Fillmore electoral ticket for the State at large, which involved a three months' public discussion of all questions which entered into the election. In company with the late William H. Polk, brother of the President, and Buchanan elector, he traversed the State from the extreme east to the Mississippi, making a series of appeals for the Union, vividly remembered to this day. By a small majority the State was carried for Buchanan.

The next year, he was a second time candidate for Congress, in the same district which, four years before, had defeated him. Running some five hundred votes ahead of the party ticket, he was elected, and took his seat in the Thirty-fifth Congress. Here he found, in a somewhat modified form, the same controversy which had given him so much anxiety in Tennessee. All his efforts, his votes and speeches, both in and out of Congress, were intended to avert the catastrophe which he saw clearly was impending.

In 1859, he was elected to the Thirty-sixth Congress, with but little opposition. The political character of the State had so far changed, that seven of the ten members constituting the delegation were elected as Unionists. In the preceding Congress there were but three.

The quadrilateral Presidential contest of 1860 followed, stirring the political channels to their profoundest depths. The avowals and commitments, on the question of slavery, by the Northern and the Southern opponents of the Democratic party, had been such, that a union of the two was manifestly impracticable, indeed not desirable. Mr. Maynard took an active part in organizing the latter, upon the simple platform once suggested by Mr. Clay, of the Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws, with Bell and Everett as their candidates. The disunion purposes of the Southern Democracy were now apparent. "When Abraham Lincoln is President of the United States, I am a Rebel," was an outspoken declaration. Mr. Maynard denounced the traitorous purpose with unsparing severity, in and out of Tennessee. The electoral vote of the State was given for the Union cause.

When returning to Washington, at the meeting of Congress, in December, 1860, he fell in company with Mr. Douglas, then returning from his famous Presidential campaign; and remained with him one day in Lynchburg, Virginia. While there, he suggested to that gentleman a plan of pacification by a special committee in the House, of one from each State, to digest a policy for defeating the evident schemes of the Southern leaders. Mr. Boteler of Virginia was agreed upon as the member to bring it forward. Accordingly, on the second day of the session the Committee was raised upon his motion. While the measure was not successful in suppressing the movements of the Secessionists, it did much to thwart and delay them, and was one of the early obstacles in their path. It was of the utmost importance to gain time.

When Mr. Maynard returned home after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, he found the Unionists exulting and confident. They had just carried the State by an apparent majority of nearly 70,000. Beneath the surface, however, he saw enough to excite lively apprehensions. Not a few Union leaders had openly declared for the cause of disunion, and the others had nearly all coupled their allegiance to the Union with so many conditions, and provisos, that it

had little force left. He lost no time in calling the attention of his confidential friends to this aspect of affairs. Associated with Johnson, Brownlow, Nelson, and other active leaders, he at once entered upon a vigorous canvass against aggressions of the secessionists. The people of East Tennessee, where he resides, had taken position by their Government, and were not to be moved. All they desired was to have their cause vindicated and made respectable by a proper advocacy. It is hardly a paradox to say that the leaders followed the people.

The biennial election for State officers and members of Congress occurred on the 1st of August, 1861. Mr. Maynard was a candidate for re-election, technically without opposition, his real opponent being a candidate for the Richmond Congress, and the real issue submitted to the people, whether they should be represented at Washington or at Richmond. This was the case in the other two Congressional Districts of East Tennessee. He was re-elected by an overwhelming majority in a largely increased vote. In anticipation of this event, he had made full arrangements, and passed at once beyond the rebel lines, and never re-entered them. The special session of Congress, called for the 4th of July, 1861, was too near its close to admit of his reaching Washington in time to take a seat in it. The interval between it and the regular session in December, was a time of ceaseless activity. Simultaneously with himself, had crossed into Kentucky a great number of young men, resolved to enter the military service for the suppression of the rebellion. Utterly without supplies themselves, and with no provision for receiving them or knowledge of their coming, they were in a truly precarious situation. Mr. Maynard procured for them temporary supplies, venturing in the name of the Government to promise payment—a promise, it is needless to say, promptly fulfilled. He then hurried on to Washington to confer with the authorities there, and, if possible, to have Kentucky placed under the command of Major Robert Anderson, a Kentuckian, and then in high renown for his defense of Fort Sumter. At Washington, he found Mr. Johnson, then a Senator from Tennessee, conspicuous for his devotion to the Federal cause,

and in the full confidence of the Administration. Recognizing him as the proper head of the Union party, not only of Tennessee but of the South, he co-operated with him earnestly and in the best faith, until after his accession to the Presidency. The organization of the Tennessee troops occupied a good deal of attention. This did not prevent him from visiting various portions of the North, and, by public speech and private effort, rallying the people to increased zeal for the national cause. Scarcely a Northern State which, sometime during the war, he did not visit for this purpose.

At the regular session in December, he took his seat in the Thirty-seventh Congress. Uniformly and on all occasions he sustained Mr. Lincoln, whom from the first he regarded as belonging to a very high order of men. His labors in Congress, however, were principally directed to the condition of the Southern Union men. His constant aim was to secure their recognition as an element in the great conflict, and especially to secure for them representation in Congress by Congressional legislation. A bill introduced by him passed the House, and was defeated in the Senate, at the last moment of the session, by the factious opposition of a Senator from Kentucky. Had it become a law, the whole business of reconstruction would have assumed quite another character.

By the failure of this bill, and the absence of any State legislation for the election of members of Congress, Tennessee was deprived of representation in the Thirty-eighth Congress.

Another measure which originated with him in this Congress, was the new official oath, commonly known as the "test oath." He was always persuaded that the Confiscation Act would be practically futile, and he introduced a substitute which failed as such; but its fifth section became a law, and is the now famous "iron-clad" oath.

At the close of the Thirty-seventh Congress, Mr. Maynard accepted from Mr. Johnson, then Military Governor of Tennessee, the office of Attorney General of the State, which he held until the close of the Governor's term and the restoration of the State government.

In 1864, he was a member of the Republican National Convention

in Baltimore, and with great zeal and effect urged the nomination of Mr. Johnson as the candidate for Vice-President, and subsequently took an active part in the canvass.

January, 1865, saw the Union men of Tennessee assembled in Convention at Nashville, for the important purpose of restoring their State government, destroyed by the rebellion. Mr. Maynard participated, and saw the effort successful, over doubt, timidity, and disguised opposition, and the government of Tennessee planted squarely upon the simple doctrine of the equality of all men before the law, and in the hands of loyal men.

After Mr. Johnson succeeded to the Presidency, on the death of Mr. Lincoln, offer was made to Mr. Maynard of the office of District Attorney of the District of Columbia, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or Commissioner of Patents. He was also offered the mission to Mexico, to Peru, to Chili, or to Denmark, each and all of which he declined; preferring to accept a nomination for re-election to Congress, as affording him a better opportunity to sustain the restored government of his State, and to procure its recognition by Federal authority. After a canvass of nine days, giving barely time to publish his name as candidate through the thirteen counties composing the district, he was elected by a large majority over five competitors of worth and deserved popularity.


At the meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress, he was selected by the delegation to present their credentials and to demand recognition of the new government of Tennessee, by admitting her chosen members to their seats. He was met with an emphatic refusal, and opposition somewhat personally offensive. All this he endured with patience and even temper, until, finally, the opposition dwindled to barely a dozen votes, and he had the satisfaction of seeing the restored government of his State recognized, and himself and his colleagues, in the Senate and House, admitted to their seats. This was his great work in the Thirty-ninth Congress.

He was nominated, and with but little opposition re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, of which he is now a member.



James Brook,

JAMES BROOKS.

AMES BROOKS was born in Portland, Maine, November 10, 1810. His father was captain and principal owner of a brig in the merchant service. His sea-faring life kept him almost constantly from home, hence his son was left to the sole care of a mother, who from her energy and excellence of character was well fitted for the responsible duty. While James was yet a child, the vessel which his father commanded was lost at sea with all on board. By this calamity Mrs. Brooks was made a widow and left penniless, for all the property of her husband was invested in the vessel.

The widow, now left as the sole support of herself and three orphan children, exerted herself with great energy to maintain her family.

James was sent to the public school, where he studied eagerly, and exhibited remarkable thirst for knowledge.

When eleven years old, a situation was obtained for him in a store at Lewiston, then a frontier village on the Androscoggin. By contract with his employer he was to remain in his service until he was twenty-one, when he should receive a hogshead of New England rum.

The store in which young Brooks was employed was a favorite resort of the village politicians of both parties, who came in the evening to hear the young clerk read the news. He gave them politics quite impartially, reading Whig doctrines from the *Portland Advertiser*, and throwing in a fair proportion of Democracy from the *Argus*. The town library was kept in the store in which young Brooks was employed, and this afforded him a free and wide range of attractive reading.

The employer of Brooks took a great interest in his young clerk. He gave him opportunities of trading a little on his own account, and encouraged him to save his money. Having discovered that James was desirous of obtaining an education, he kindly proposed to release him from all obligations of further service, and give him such assistance as he needed. Young Brooks gratefully accepted the offer, and in a few days made arrangements to enter an academy at Monmouth, Maine. He had saved money enough to pay the moderate price of one dollar per week for board. Blessed with good health, and devoted to hard study, he soon accomplished his purpose of fitting himself for teaching school. He then returned to Lewiston, and taught a school for the winter at a salary of ten dollars per month and his board. The following spring he found himself rich enough to enter Waterville College. Since even a few shillings were important to him then, in going to Waterville he carried his own trunk, which was neither large nor heavy.

After pursuing his college studies for a year, he found it necessary to teach school in order to obtain money with which to continue his course. While teaching school, by hard study, he kept up his college studies; and on his return, after a rigid examination, he was admitted to an advanced class.

After two years more of study, young Brooks graduated, and left college as he had come, three years before, carrying his trunk. He returned to his mother's house in Portland with just ninety cents in his pocket. Without giving himself so much as a day of respite or recreation, he at once began to search for employment. Learning that a Latin school, for some time established in Portland, was about to change its teacher, Brooks applied for the situation, and, unknown, without influential friends, obtained it as the result of a rigid examination. From this time Brooks made a home with his mother and her two younger children, protecting and caring for them with filial and almost paternal devotion.

Scarcely had Mr. Brooks become established in his school when he commenced the study of law with John Neal, a celebrated lawyer of

Portland, and well known as an author. This gentleman manifested great interest in his student, who no doubt obtained quite as much literary knowledge from the author as legal instruction from the lawyer.

Mr. Brooks soon after began to write anonymous letters for the *Portland Advertiser*, a daily Whig paper published by John Edwards. These articles were so popular that Mr. Edwards found out their author, and made him an offer of \$500 per annum to write constantly for his journal. This work Mr. Brooks continued for a whole year, keeping school and studying law at the same time.

At length it could no longer be concealed that he was in part editor of a leading partisan newspaper, and had taken sides against General Jackson. This rendered it impossible for him to perform the duties of a teacher to his own satisfaction, and from that time he devoted himself wholly to the *Advertiser*, entering heart and soul into political life.

At this time, though only twenty years old, Mr. Brooks began to attract attention as a political speaker, and soon became one of the most popular orators known to either party.

The year he was twenty-one, Mr. Brooks was elected to the Legislature of Maine. In addition to his legislative duties he wrote for the *Portland Advertiser*.

The next year he went to Washington, and commenced a series of letters from the national capital, thus inaugurating "Washington Correspondence," which has become a feature in the American press. These letters, being a novelty and full of spirited description, were extensively copied both in this country and in Europe.

When Congress adjourned, Mr. Brooks traveled through the South, and wrote a series of interesting letters descriptive of Southern life. This was in the days of South Carolina's nullification, against which these letters were trenchant and severe. The writer dealt with slavery also, taking strong grounds against the "institution." This fact was brought up and made a subject of sharp remark by Mr. Price, of Iowa, in the Thirty-eighth Congress. Mr. Brooks replied that he

saw no reason to change his opinions, though so many years had elapsed since the letters were written.

The success of Mr. Brooks's letters from Washington and the South induced him to form the novel plan of traveling over Europe on foot, and sending to the *Advertiser* descriptions of what he saw. Mr. Brooks sailed from New York for England in one of the fine packet ships of the time. With a knapsack on his back, and letters of introduction from the first men of America in his pocket, he traveled over England and made himself familiar with its people. One day he dined with some nobleman, and the next walked thirty miles and slept in the thatched cottage of a peasant. He wandered over the hills of Scotland, and among the green fields of Ireland, seeing everything, and describing with vivacity all he saw. He became acquainted with most of the great statesmen and authors of England. His description of his visit to the poet Wordsworth so interested the public that a splendid copy of his poems was forwarded to Mr. Brooks from the publishers, after his return home, as an acknowledgement of the fidelity and truthfulness of the letters.

From England Mr. Brooks went to France. He crossed the Alps on foot, and made himself familiar with Switzerland, Italy, and portions of Germany. The letters written during these travels attracted great attention to the paper for which they were written. They were extensively copied in this country, and were translated and re-copied abroad.

When Mr. Brooks returned to America, he remained some weeks in New York, and there offers were made him to establish a daily paper to be called the *New York Express*. Parties there proposed to furnish the capital for the paper, which was to offset the labor and talent which Brooks should supply as editor.

The people of Portland, being reluctant to part with a young man of so much promise, offered to nominate him for Congress if he would return to them. He accordingly returned to Portland, and became a candidate against F. O. J. Smith, a very popular man on the Democratic side, and a third candidate, whose name was Dunn.

The district had for years been a Democratic stronghold, but it was only on a third trial, Dunn having been persuaded to withdraw, that Smith was elected by a bare majority.

Mr. Brooks soon after returned to his incomplete enterprise in New York, and that year established the *New York Express*, a daily journal, of which he is principal owner at the present time. Disappointment met him at the outset. Persons who had promised to supply the funds for the new enterprise failed to meet their engagements, and it was by the most intense labor and personal privation that he struggled under the load of debt laid on him from the first. But he had health and strength, and that indomitable energy which nothing daunts or dismays. He wrote leaders, acted as reporter, watched night after night for the arrival of ship news, and kept his journal up with an energy which the public soon began to recognize.

After a year or two the *New York Daily Advertiser*, published by William B. Townsend, was connected with the *Express*. Gradually but surely the journal advanced in popularity under the editorial management of Mr. Brooks, who had reached great political influence, and was one of the most popular speakers in the Whig party.

During the memorable political campaign of 1840, Mr. Brooks went to Indiana and stumped that State for Harrison. He became a great favorite and devoted friend of Harrison, and was one of the few friends admitted to his room during his fatal illness.

In the summer of 1841 Mr. Brooks was married to Mrs. Mary Randolph, a widow lady of Richmond, Virginia. Such was his dislike of slavery that he insisted that the emancipation of three or four household slaves belonging to her should precede the marriage ceremony.

In 1847 Mr. Brooks was elected to the State Legislature, and two years later was elected a Representative in Congress from New York. He served through the Thirty-first and Thirty-second Congresses, in which he distinguished himself by his eloquence of speech and effectiveness in debate. He was the associate and friend of

Webster, Clay, and other leading spirits in Congress at that time, and kept pace with them in the stirring legislative movements of that period. Clay's efforts in the great compromise measures of the time met with his efficient support in the House, when all the varied knowledge which he had acquired in his travels and in his editorial life became available in his career of statesmanship.

About this time Mr. Brooks purchased Mr. Townsend's interest in the *Express*, and took his younger brother into partnership in the establishment.

Soon after the close of the Thirty-second Congress Mr. Brooks made another tour on the continent, and subsequently went a third time across the ocean, extending his travels to Egypt and the Holy Land.

During these travels Mr. Brooks availed himself of the opportunities presented in each country of studying its language on the spot. He thus acquired the German, Spanish, and Italian, and perfected his knowledge of the French.

Thus alternating his editorial duties with extensive travels, Mr. Brooks passed several years until the excitements and issues of the civil war induced him to enter political life again. In the canvass for the election of a member of the Thirty-eighth Congress, Mr. Brooks started as an independent candidate, but in the end the Democratic nominee retired, and Mr. Brooks was elected by a large majority. He took his seat as a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress; but, after serving nearly through the long session, his seat was successfully contested by William F. Dodge. Surrendering his seat some time in April, Mr. Brooks was unanimously nominated for the Fortieth Congress, and was elected by a majority of six thousand votes.


During the autumn of 1867 Mr. Brooks was a member of the State Constitutional Convention.

In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Brooks is a member of the Reconstruction Committee and of the Committee of Ways and Means. Able in argument, eloquent in speech, and plausible in address, he is a leading spirit on the side of the minority.



Simon Schuler

SIDNEY CLARKE.

IDNEY CLARKE was born at Southbridge, Worcester County, Massachusetts, October 16, 1831. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers of New England, and were numbered among the staunch loyalists of the Revolution. His grandfather was an officer under General Gates at the battle of Stillwater, and was present at the surrender of the British Army under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga. His father served in the war of 1812, and was a well known and prominent citizen of the county in which he resided. His mother was a woman of fine mind, great energy of character, and of devoted piety, and the mother of seven children, of whom the subject of this sketch was the youngest.

Mr. Clarke did not enjoy the advantages of a liberal education. At eighteen years of age, he left the farm and district school, to engage in mercantile pursuits at Worcester, Massachusetts. While thus employed, he commenced to write for the press, and soon obtained recognition as a versatile and forcible contributor.

It was at this time he became an active member of a literary society, whose members were young men who, in the main, were denied by their circumstances the advantages of a liberal education, but who, by means of the opportunities enjoyed in this and similar organizations, acquired compensating attainments. In debate, as well as in other exercises, Mr. Clarke soon occupied a prominent position.

In 1854, he returned to his native town, and became the editor and proprietor of the *Southbridge Press*, a weekly newspaper, which he continued for five years to edit and publish. During this time he took an active part in politics, identifying himself with the Free Soil

party. His first vote was cast for Hale and Julian, in the election of 1852. In 1856 he was a warm supporter of Gen. Fremont, and rendered efficient service both as editor and speaker throughout that memorable campaign. In the spring of 1858, in accordance with the advice of his physicians, he sought the more genial climate of Kansas, visiting the settled portions of the territory, and becoming ardently interested in the future of that historic community. The following year he fulfilled his purpose of making Kansas his home, and settled at Lawrence, in Douglas County. During the first two years of his residence in Kansas, Mr. Clarke became actively engaged in political affairs, and warmly espoused the cause of the "Radical wing" of the Free State party.

In 1862, he was elected to the State Legislature, where he at once took front rank among the many able men who composed that body. In 1863, he was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of Volunteers, by Mr. Lincoln, and was at once assigned to duty in the Bureau of the Provost-Marshal General as Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal General for the District of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and Dakota, with headquarters at Leavenworth, Kansas. In this line of duty he at once obtained recognition as an efficient and popular administrative officer. In the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Enrollment Act, and the superintending of the volunteer recruiting service, his office in a widely-extended district was a model of perfect organization and efficiency.

At the Republican State Convention, in the autumn of 1863, Mr. Clarke was chosen Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, a position previously held by the ablest of the old Free State leaders. From this time forward, his record has been one of ceaseless activity and constantly enlarging influence in the political affairs of his State. So long as General Jas. H. Lane remained the advocate and exponent of Radical ideas, he heartily sympathized with and supported him. When the Legislature of 1864 irregularly elected Gov. Thomas Carney United States Senator, to supplant General Lane, Mr Clarke went at once before the people, promptly denouncing

the election as fraudulent and illegal, and the fruit of a conspiracy. The campaign fully established his reputation for ability and political sagacity, and the action of the Legislature was overwhelmingly repudiated. On the opening of the Presidential campaign of 1864, Mr. Clarke canvassed the State in favor of Mr. Lincoln's re-election; and by the State Convention of his party, on the 8th of September, 1864, was nominated as a candidate for the Thirty-ninth Congress.

Although bitterly opposed by malcontents, who coalesced with the Democrats to secure his defeat, he was triumphantly elected over his competitor, General Albert L. Lee, by more than fifteen hundred majority. He was renominated for the Fortieth Congress by acclamation, and was elected by a majority of more than eleven thousand. For the third time renominated, he has again been re-elected, receiving the handsome indorsement of a majority of about seventeen thousand.

As a member of Congress, Mr. Clarke has worked with great industry for the interests of his constituents, and enjoys the reputation of an able, zealous, and faithful representative. As a member of the House Committee of Indian Affairs and the Pacific Railroad Committee, while representing a new State, extensive in territory, with diversified local interests, and rapidly developing its vast resources, he has secured the confidence of his constituents by steadfast devotion to the rights and interests of the great mass of the people. His first speech in Congress was on behalf of unqualified impartial suffrage in the District of Columbia, and he has always advocated and voted for the legislation which represents the advanced ideas of the Republican organization. He has participated in all the leading conflicts which have made the policy of Congress memorable during the six years last passed, while assiduously laboring for local measures, looking toward the material development of the State he represents. Mr. Clarke possesses an active, nervous temperament, but is endowed with remarkable powers of endurance, physically as well as mentally. In one of his political campaigns in Kansas, in less than thirty days he made nearly seventy speeches, traveling in an open carriage at the

same time above twelve hundred miles, visiting the most remote sections of the State, and concluding his labors apparently unaffected by fatigue.

Mr. Clarke has devoted himself with great assiduity and sagacity to the development of the material interests of his rapidly-growing State: more especially to the protection of its people against the growth of those land and other monopolies, which in all Western States have had to be struggled against. In doing this, however, he has wisely and liberally aided all reasonable efforts to promote public and private improvements.



Fernando Wood

FERNANDO WOOD



F Quaker ancestry, Fernando Wood was born in Philadelphia, June 14, 1812. His father was a merchant of good standing of that city. His original ancestor in this country was Henry Wood, who emigrated early in the seventeenth century, settling in Rhode Island; but, being a Quaker, he was driven out of that settlement by the persecutions of the Puritans. From there he went, in 1656, to the Delaware River, and became a farmer in the vicinity of Philadelphia, on that which is now the New Jersey side of the river. For over two hundred years the family have resided in that neighborhood. The original family burial-ground is yet existing on the banks of the river a short distance north of Camden.

The father of Mr. Wood removed to New York in 1820, where the latter has resided ever since. He commenced his busy life as a clerk in 1826, but subsequently made cigars, skill in the manufacture of which he had picked up as an amateur and merely from observation. This employment he pursued but a short time.

He commenced business on his own account in 1832, but the cholera prevailing to a frightful extent in that year in New York, he was unsuccessful, and was obliged to return once more to the vocation of a clerk. In 1836 he again commenced business in a small way as a merchant. He met with fair success, but, imbibing an early taste for political affairs, he devoted much time to those more congenial pursuits.

In 1838 he was made chairman of the Young Men's General Committee of Tammany Hall; and in November, 1840, was nominated and elected a member of the Twenty-seventh Congress. This was

the memorable presidential campaign resulting in the defeat of Martin Van Buren, and the election of General Harrison. Mr. Wood took his seat in Congress at the called session in May, 1841. He was quite a young man, but nevertheless participated in the debates with much success. To do this in a Congress which comprised statesmen of great ability, was no easy thing. In the Senate were Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Silas Wright, Thomas H. Benton, Levi Woodbury, James Buchanan, and others almost equally distinguished. In the House were Millard Fillmore, John Quincy Adams, Caleb Cushing, Robert C. Winthrop, Henry A. Wise, R. M. T. Hunter, and others as prominent. This Congress was not only distinguished for the ability of its members, but also for the great questions which were discussed and passed upon. Henry Clay's Fiscal Bank Scheme, the Tariff, the Distribution of the Proceeds of the Public Lands, and other measures of magnitude and importance, called out the ablest intellect of the times. Mr. Wood spoke on most of these questions, his bearing and mode of handling his subject winning the commendation of even those who differed with him.

His maiden speech was delivered in May, 1842, on Mr. Clay's Fiscal Bank Scheme. He spoke an hour, principally against the practicability of the measure, and explanatory of its effects upon the commercial interests of the country. On this occasion, ex-President Adams, then fast declining to the grave, approached him with tottering steps and congratulated him on his speech.

The chief effort of his service in that Congress was devoted to the success of the application to give the aid of the Government in showing the practicability of the transmission of intelligence by magnetic telegraph. Until the year 1842 no such proposition had been made; indeed, the inventor himself had not until then reached that degree of confidence in its feasibility as to venture upon an extensive application of it for useful purposes. Professor Morse made his application to this Congress for an appropriation sufficient to lay wires along the sleepers of the railroad track between Washington City and Baltimore. He was confident of its success, but not so with members of

Congress and the public generally. Mr. Wood took an active part in making converts. At his instance Professor Morse placed a magnetic battery in the Committee Room of Naval Affairs, of which Mr. Wood was a member, and connecting it by wires with another battery in the Committee Room of Naval Affairs in the Senate, showed, by the transmission of communications from one to the other, that the plan was sufficiently feasible to warrant an appropriation, if only as an experiment. It was with much difficulty, however, that the prejudice against it was overcome.

Morse himself was poor. He became almost discouraged ; but by the youthful energy and enthusiasm of Wood, aided by his colleague, Mr. Charles G. Ferris, then a member from New York, the bill was finally carried through, the money appropriated, and Morse made the superintendent for its construction and management at a salary of \$2,500 per year. It was soon ascertained that the jar of the running trains prevented the free transmission of the fluid along the wires when connected with the tracks. Poles, as now used, were substituted, which have been improved upon since in various respects.

Professor Morse has never ceased to recognize the great obligations which he and the world at large are under to Mr. Wood for his early appreciation and active support of the origin of the magnetic telegraph.

Mr. Wood retired for a time from public life at the end of the Twenty-seventh Congress, March 4, 1843. Being poor, and with the responsibility and care of a young family, he saw that he could not afford to pursue his taste for politics. He resumed business as a merchant, commencing in South Street, New York, as a ship chandler and ship furnisher. He eschewed politics altogether, devoting himself entirely to his business. His efforts were crowned with success. He soon became the owner of several vessels, engaged in a profitable trade with the British West India Islands.

In 1848 he fitted out the first sailing vessel that left New York for California after the discovery of gold there. In this expedition he met with unexpected success, realizing a little fortune by the result.

The same year he invested a part of these returns in suburban New York property. At that time the city did not extend above Thirtieth Street. Mr. Wood purchased the ground upon which he now resides, lying along Broadway from Seventy-sixth to Seventy-eighth Street, for a few thousand dollars, for which he was offered, in 1868, \$400,000. On the 1st of January, 1850, he retired from business, returning to an active participation in the politics of the times. He was the Democratic candidate for Mayor of New York in November, 1850, but was defeated by A. C. Kingsland, Esq., the Whig candidate. Not discouraged by this result, he continued in politics, determined, sooner or later, to rule over a city for which he had so much affection, and where he saw much room for municipal improvement.

He was the Democratic candidate again in 1854, and was elected. During his administration of the duties of that office, he reformed nearly all of the great abuses which then existed. He was the chief promoter in establishing the Central Park, and had charge of and carried out the original plan for its ornamentation and arrangement. By his invitation a Board was created for deciding upon the plans, consisting of Washington Irving, George C. Bancroft, William Cullen Bryant, R. C. Winthrop, Edward Everett, and other distinguished men of acknowledged taste and accomplishments. He was the first to place uniforms on the police, and instituted many other improvements, which at the time were highly commended, even by political enemies. He was re-elected in 1856 and 1859. During his administration of the duties of that office he evinced much energy, and a far higher appreciation of its powers and responsibilities than its incumbents usually do. He made war upon the evil-doers always to be found in a large city, and rendered himself odious to political friends and foes by the positiveness of his actions and the indiscriminate course he adopted towards all, irrespective of station or political opinions. The leaders of the party to which he was attached became hostile in consequence; but in opposition to them he organized the Mozart Hall party, so well known in the politics of the city and State ever since.

He was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, representing the Fifth District of New York. This was during the war. He made several speeches in favor of the appointment of commissioners to procure a cessation of hostilities. He deprecated the continuance of the conflict until every means of procuring an amicable adjustment had been tried and proved futile. He always declared himself against the efforts of the Southern States to break up the Union. But he thought that the South had early seen the error and futility of the Secession movement, and that there would be no difficulty in bringing about an abandonment of the effort and a restoration of peace and good-will.

After the close of the war, the enemies of Mr. Wood affected to believe that the allegations which had been published against his loyalty had found a lodgment in the public mind, and that his career in political life was ended.

Not being willing to admit this, he resolved on taking the boldest and most effectual means of testing the matter, by presenting himself as a candidate for Congress on his own record, with no other aid than his personal hold on popular esteem.

Accordingly, in October, 1866, Mr. Wood issued an address to the electors of the Ninth Congressional District, in which he announced himself as an independent candidate for Congress, not the nominee of any party, faction, or convention. "I desire the election," said he, "as a popular rebuke to those who utter the malicious falsehood, that during the war I was a 'rebel sympathizer' and disunionist; and also to be placed in an official position where, unrestrained by partisan obligations, I may follow the dictates of my own judgment for the public good."

The result of this bold and independent movement was the election of Mr. Wood to the Fortieth Congress by a majority of nearly two thousand votes.

In the proceedings of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Wood took a prominent part. He participated in the debate on the Resolution to impeach the President, on the Freedmen's Bureau, on the release of Americans imprisoned in Ireland, and on the Internal Revenue Bill.

His chief effort, and that in which he felt the most interest, was his proposition to pay the public debts, reduce taxation, and return to specie payments by the development, for Government account, of the mineral resources lying in the Pacific States and Territories. To this important proposition he had given much thought and investigation. Satisfied of its practicability, he spoke at length in favor of the plan on the 3d of June, 1868, sustaining his position with force and power. He predicted that the supply of the precious metals would soon cease, unless the Government entered the field with large outlay, and using a higher order of scientific talent in revealing and analyzing the ores.

"The mines of California," said he, "have produced \$1,100,000,000, though worked by feeble efforts, imperfect machinery, and insufficient capital. Other territory, even yet more valuable, has been added to the mineral resources of the nation. All the vast space lying between the 34th and 49th degrees north latitude, and the 104th and 124th parallels of longitude, contains an inexhaustible supply. That territory belongs to the Government by conquest and by purchase. I am satisfied that a yield from two hundred to three hundred millions a year can be readily obtained, after the proper knowledge and talent are obtained to prosecute them; this may be done after the first year, and increased afterwards. Then why should we not avail ourselves of these resources? Why borrow, and oppress the people by taxation, external and internal, when we have such resources at command?"

This important proposition, and the arguments employed to urge its adoption, were received with incredulity. Its author, however, was not discouraged, and predicted the final success of the scheme.

Although Mr. Wood was elected to the Fortieth Congress unpledged to any party, he nevertheless generally acted with the Democrats. Although differing with many of his Democratic friends in some particulars, he acted with them in opposition to the measures which the majority from time to time proposed and passed.



Austin Blair

AUSTIN BLAIR.



AMONG the loyal and faithful Governors who cordially co-operated with President Lincoln in putting down the Rebellion, none deserve more honorable mention than Austin Blair, of Michigan. He was born February 8, 1818, in the town of Caroline, Tompkins County, New York. His ancestors were from Scotland, emigrating to America in the time of George I. The family, from generation to generation, seems to have pursued the business of farming. The subject of this sketch was the first who interfered with this arrangement, to become a professional man. The education of his boyhood was at the common school, until, at seventeen, he was sent to the Seminary at Cazenovia, New York, where he remained a year and a half. He then entered Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York, becoming a member of the Sophomore class. Here he pursued his studies to the middle of his Junior year, when he entered Union College, Schenectady, being attracted thither by the great reputation of President Nott. Here he was graduated in 1839, and never re-visited his Alma Mater, until, in 1868, he delivered the annual address before the literary societies of that institution.

After leaving college, Mr. Blair read law for two years, in the office of Sweet & Davis, at Owego, N. Y. At the end of this time he was admitted to the bar. He immediately emigrated to Michigan, and commenced practice at Jackson, the place of his present residence. In a short time he removed to Eaton Rapids; and after remaining there two years, he returned to Jackson, and engaged actively in the practice of his profession. While at Eaton Rapids, he was, in 1842, elected to the office of County Clerk, which was his first office.

At this time Mr. Blair was a Whig in politics, and in 1844 joined in the canvass for Henry Clay with great zeal; and, two years later, he was sent to the lower house of the State Legislature. In 1848, he refused any longer to support the Whig ticket, and for two reasons: first, because of his great partiality for Mr. Clay, whom the nominating convention passed by in favor of General Taylor; and, secondly and principally, because of his decided anti-slavery sentiments.

After the nomination of General Taylor, Mr. Blair attended the convention at Buffalo which put in nomination Van Buren and Adams. This ticket he supported with all his might, not that he cherished any hope of success, but that he thought it was time for a beginning to be made in the right direction.

In 1852 he was elected Prosecuting-Attorney of Jackson County, holding that office during two years. In 1854, Mr. Blair actively participated in the proceedings at the convention at Jackson, which resulted in the foundation of the Republican party in Michigan. This convention brought together the anti-slavery men of the Whig and Free-Soil parties in that State, and resulted in a complete triumph over the Democracy at the Fall election. He was, at this time, chosen a Senator in the State Legislature. In 1856, he was an earnest supporter of Fremont and Dayton. At the November election of 1860, Mr. Blair was chosen Governor of Michigan, and he entered upon his executive duties in the following January. Fully aware of the perilous position in which the country had been placed by the spirit of rebellion which then pervaded the Southern States, and foreseeing the inevitable collision, he commenced his official career with a full appreciation of the responsibilities of his office. His judicious and prompt administration of military affairs in the State, soon distinguished him as possessing great executive ability, ardent love of country and true devotion to the interests and honor of his State. These characteristics soon secured for him the confidence of the people of both political parties, which he retained during his entire four years' administration.

The inaugural of Governor Blair, which was a profound and philo-

sophical discussion of the true nature of our form of government, and of the real signification of the existing and impending issues, closed with these emphatic words :

" It is a question of war that the seceding States have to look in the face. They who think that this powerful Government can be disrupted peacefully, have read history to no purpose. The sons of the men who carried arms in the Seven Years' War with the most powerful nation in the world, to establish this Government, will not hesitate to make equal sacrifices to maintain it. Most deeply must we deplore the unnatural contest. On the heads of the traitors who provoke it, must rest the responsibility. In such a contest the God of battles has no attribute that can take sides with the revolutionists of the Slave States.

" I recommend you at an early day to make manifest to the gentlemen who represent this State in the two Houses of Congress, and to the country, that Michigan is loyal to the Union, the Constitution, and the Laws, and will defend them to the uttermost ; and to proffer to the President of the United States the whole military power of the State for that purpose. Oh, for the firm, steady hand of a Washington, or a Jackson, to guide the ship of State in this perilous storm. Let us hope that we shall find him on the 4th of March. Meantime, let us abide in the faith of our fathers—' Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and for ever.' "

Marshaled by such a leader, the Legislature was neither timid nor slow in declaring the loyalty of Michigan to the Union. In joint resolution, offered February 2, 1861, it declared its adherence to the Government of the United States, tendered it all the military power and material resources of the State, and declared that concession and compromise were not to be offered to traitors. Still, nothing definite was done ; no actual defensive or aggressive military steps were taken, until rebel foolhardiness precipitated the struggle that had become inevitable, by converging upon Fort Sumter the fire of the encircling batteries of Charleston Harbor. On April 12, 1861, the news was received at Detroit that the rebels at Charleston had ac-

tually inaugurated civil war by firing upon Fort Sumter. This intelligence created much excitement, and in view of the uncertainty of coming events, the people commenced looking around to estimate how united they would be in the cause of the Union. On the following day, a meeting of the Detroit Bar, presided over by the venerable Judge Ross Wilkins, was held, and resolutions were adopted pledging that community to "stand by the Government to the last," and repudiating the treason of the South. By the following Monday, April 15, when the surrender of the South Carolina fortress was known throughout the land, and the call of the President for 75,000 volunteers had been received, the entire State was alive to the emergencies and the duties of the hour, and the uprising of the people was universal. Public meetings were held in all the cities and most of the towns, pledges of assistance to the nation in its hour of peril made, and volunteering briskly commenced.

On Tuesday, April 16, Governor Blair arrived in Detroit, and during the day he issued a proclamation calling for a regiment of volunteers, and ordering the Adjutant-General to accept the first ten companies that should offer, and making it the duty of that officer to issue all the necessary orders and instructions in detail. The movement thus inaugurated did not slacken in impetus nor lessen in ardor. The State responded to the call of its authorities most promptly. The patriotism of the people was in a blaze, war meetings were held in every town, and the tender of troops from all points in the State far exceeded the requisition.

The first call made by the President upon Michigan for troops to aid in the suppression of the rebellion, was, as before stated, for one regiment only, which was promptly met by the muster into service of the First regiment, and that was soon followed by the second. At the same time several other regiments were persistently pressing for service, and some were authorized to organize without provision of law, while many companies found service in other States. In the meantime the organization of the Third and Fourth regiments had been commenced on the responsibility of the Governor alone, and

while that was in progress, he received instructions from the War Department to discontinue the raising of more troops, and that it was important to reduce, rather than enlarge the number.

The Governor, foreseeing an immediate necessity for preparation to meet coming emergencies and future calls, assumed the responsibility of establishing a camp of instruction at Fort Wayne, near Detroit, for the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh regiments; and on the 21st of May, companies were assigned to those regiments, and their officers were ordered to assemble at Fort Wayne on the 19th of June.

A course of instruction followed, with much success, until August 1, when the camp was broken up and the force sent to various localities to recruit their men and organize the regiments. This was accomplished with astonishing promptness, the Sixth being mustered in August 20th; the Seventh, August 22d; and the Fifth, August 28th. All had left for the field prior to the 12th of September.

The establishment of the Camp of Instruction attracted much attention in other States, and most favorable comments from public journals. It has always been considered in Michigan as a most judicious and eminently successful effort, its value becoming more and more apparent as the war progressed, not only in the efficiency of these particular regiments, but in many others having the benefit of officers who had received the instruction of the camp.

The law of Congress of August 3d, had authorized the President to receive into service 500,000 volunteers. The proportion of Michigan was understood at the time to be 19,500. In response to this requisition, the State continued recruiting, sending regiment after regiment to the field; and up to the end of December, had sent to the front three regiments of cavalry, one of engineers and mechanics, twelve of infantry, two companies of cavalry for the "Merrill Horse," two companies for 1st and 2d regiments U. S. Sharpshooters, and five batteries.

In response to the call of the President of October 17, 1863, for 300,000 more, Governor Blair issued his proclamation for the Michi-

gan quota of 11,298, in which he makes use of the following stirring language.

"This call is for soldiers to fill the ranks of the regiments in the field,—those regiments which by long and gallant service have wasted their numbers in the same proportion that they have made a distinguished name, both for themselves and the State. The people of Michigan will recognize this as a duty already too long delayed. Our young men, I trust, will hasten to stand beside the heroes of Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Stone River, and Chicamunga."

The Governor's stirring proclamation, and the patriotic response of the people of Michigan, immediately followed each successive call of the President for volunteers.

During his four years' administration, Governor Blair devoted his entire time, talents, and energies to the duties of his office. When he left the Executive chair, he had sent into the field eighty-three thousand three hundred and forty-seven soldiers. In his message delivered to the Legislature, January 4, 1865, he greeted them most affectionately from the Capitol of the State, on vacating the chair which he had so well filled and so highly honored during the years of the war that had passed.

July 4, 1867, Gov. Blair delivered an oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the Michigan Soldiers' Monument. It comprised an able and faithful resume of the principal conflicts of the war, reviewing in considerable detail the prominent part taken in those bloody scenes by the brave and hardy troops of Michigan.

The brief Congressional record of Gov. Blair is what might be expected from the antecedents of the man. He is an earnest Republican, a strong friend and supporter of the Reconstruction measures, and a stern enemy to every form of repudiation, and to every tendency in that fatal direction. His speech upon the national finances on the floor of the House, March 21, 1868, is eminently just and convincing, and such as could hardly fail of commending itself to all fair and honest minds.



G. Maine

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE.



JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1830. His ancestors were among the early Scotch-Irish settlers in that State. His great-grandfather, Ephraim Blaine, was honorably distinguished as an officer in the Revolutionary war. He was originally a Colonel of the Pennsylvania Line; and for the last four years of the struggle, was Commissary General of the Northern Department. It is related in Appleton's "Cyclopedia" that "during the *dark winter* at Valley Forge, the preservation of the American army from starvation was in a great degree owing to the exertions and sacrifices of Colonel Blaine."

The immediate subject of this sketch graduated at Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1847. After two or three years spent in teaching, he adopted the editorial profession, and removed to Maine in 1852, where he successively edited the *Kennebec Journal* and the *Portland Advertiser*, the two leading Republican papers in the State at that time. In 1858, Mr. Blaine was elected to the State Legislature from the city of Augusta. He served four consecutive years in that body; the last two, as Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 1862, Mr. Blaine was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress from the Third Congressional District of Maine, and has been three times re-elected by very large majorities.

During Mr. Blaine's service in Congress, he has been a member of the Post-Office Committee, the Military Committee, the Committee on Appropriations, and the Committee on the Rules. He enjoys the reputation of being an exceedingly industrious committee man, and

he takes at all times a very active and prominent part in the business and in the debates of the House.

During the Thirty-eighth Congress, Mr. Blaine made a speech on the subject of the General Government assuming the "war debts of the loyal States," in the course of which he discussed at some length the ability of the nation to prosecute the war in which we were then so desperately engaged. This feature of Mr. Blaine's speech attracted great attention at the time, and it was made one of the Campaign Documents by the Union Republican party in the Presidential struggle of 1864.

During the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Blaine bore an active and conspicuous part in the legislation on measures of reconstruction. Early in January, 1866, Mr. Blaine introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Reconstruction Committee, and was made the basis of that part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution regulating the matter of Congressional Representation. Before the introduction of Mr. Blaine's resolution, the tendency had been to base representation directly on the voting population; but this was entirely changed; and it appears that the first resolution, looking to the modification, was introduced by Mr. Blaine, and supported by a speech which, at the time, attracted much attention.

During the second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Blaine's participation in the Reconstruction Regulation was prominent and influential. The "Blaine Amendment," so well known in the public reports at the time, was moved by Mr. Blaine as a modification of Mr. Stevens' Military Bill. It was not adopted in precisely the form originally introduced by Mr. Blaine, but the measure since known as the "Howard Amendment," and sometimes as the "Sherman Amendment," as finally moved in the Senate, is substantially the same as originally proposed by Mr. Blaine in the House.

In the financial discussions of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Blaine has been specially prominent. At the very opening of the December session, 1867, Mr. Blaine made an elaborate speech reviewing and opposing the Pendleton theory of the payment of our bonds

in greenbacks. At various times subsequently, he took prominent part in upholding the public credit and the national faith. In Mr. Blaine's first speech he closed with the following declarations, which coincided with singular accuracy with the conclusions since reached and enunciated by the Republican party in its National platform :

"The remedy for our financial troubles, Mr. Chairman, will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction ; and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis, the sooner will the public Treasury be freed from embarrassment, and private business relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their consequent depression, if not destruction of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars. When that result shall be accomplished, we can proceed to pay our five-twenties either in coin or paper, for the one would be the equivalent of the other. But to proceed deliberately on a scheme of depreciating our legal tenders, and then forcing the holders of Government bonds to accept them in payment, would resemble in point of honor the policy of a merchant who, with abundant resources and prosperous business, should devise a plan for throwing discredit on his own notes with the view of having them bought up at a discount ruinous to the holders and immensely profitable to his own knavish pocket. This comparison may faintly illustrate the wrongfulness of the policy, but not its consummate folly ; for in the case of the Government, unlike the merchant, the stern necessity would recur of making good in the end, by the payment of hard coin, all the discount that might be gained by the temporary substitution of paper.

"Discarding all such schemes as at once unworthy and unprofitable, let us direct our policy steadily, but not rashly, toward the resumption of specie payment. And when we have attained that end—easily attainable at no distant day if the proper policy be pursued—we can all unite on some honorable plan for the redemption of the five-twenty bonds, and the issuing instead thereof of a new series of bonds which

can be more favorably placed at a lower rate of interest. When we shall have reached the specie basis, the value of United States securities will be so high in the money markets of the world that we can command our own terms. We can then call in our five-twenties according to the very letter and spirit of the bond, and adjust a new loan that will be eagerly sought for by capitalists, and will be free from those elements of discontent that in some measure surround the existing funded debt of the country."

Mr. Blaine is an indefatigable worker, an accurate statistician, a logical reasoner, and a fluent speaker. He possesses thorough knowledge of parliamentary law. His tact in discharging the duties of presiding officer has often been tested by his temporary occupancy of the Speaker's Chair. Whether in the Chair or on the floor of the House, he always maintains his self-possession, dignity, and good humor. A sprightly correspondent of the New York *Tribune* thus describes his appearance near the close of the Thirty-ninth Congress: "Mr. Blaine, whose amendment excites the opposition of the great Pennsylvanian, is metallic; you cannot conceive how a shot should pierce him, for there seem no joints to his harness. He is a man who knows what the weather was yesterday morning in Dakota, what the Emperor's policy will be touching Mexico, on what day of the week the 16th of December proximo will fall, who is the chairman of the school committee in Kennebunk, what is the best way of managing the National Debt, together with all the other interests of to-day, which anybody else would stagger under. How he does it, nobody knows. He is always in his seat. He must absorb details by assimilation at his finger ends. As I said, he is clear metal. His features are made in a mould; his attitudes are those of a bronze figure; his voice clinks; and, as you know, he has ideas fixed as brass."



Chas. Phelps

CHARLES E. PHELPS.



ONE of the pioneers in the settlement of the "New Hampshire Grants," was Charles Phelps, who removed thither from Hadley, Mass., in 1764. He was a descendant in the fourth generation from William Phelps, who came from England to Massachusetts in 1630. The former was by profession a lawyer, and held the office of Colonial Judge under appointment of the crown, and afterwards by commission from the Governor of New York, whose claim of jurisdiction over the "Grants" he persistently supported, first against the pretensions of the State of New Hampshire, and afterwards against the independent State Government of Vermont. He and his son, Timothy Phelps, who had likewise a commission from New York as High Sheriff of Cumberland County, carried their opposition to the new State movement so far as to subject them both to proscription and confiscation of property by the Vermont authorities. John Phelps, son of Timothy, was a lawyer of reputation, and served at various times in the Council and State Senate. His son, by a first marriage, John Wolcott Phelps, graduated at West Point, served in the Florida and Mexican wars as an officer of artillery, and was Colonel of the 1st Vermont Volunteers in the civil war, and afterwards Brigadier-General of Volunteers. His son, by a second wife, Mrs. Almira Hart Lincoln, sister of Mrs. Emma Willard, of Troy, N. Y., was Charles E. Phelps, born in Guilford, Vt., May 1, 1833, removed by his parents to Westchester, Pa., in 1837, and to Ellicott's Mills, Maryland, in 1841. On the maternal side, Mr. Phelps is descended from Thomas Hooker, known as the "founder of Connecticut Colony," and from Samuel Hart, one of the colonial champions of relig-

ious liberty in opposition to the intolerant code known as the "Blue Laws." His mother, Mrs. A. H. Lincoln Phelps, is the author of a series of elementary treatises on botany, chemistry, natural philosophy and geology, which have been for many years widely used as school text-books, and is also known through her contributions to literature in other departments, and as a practical and successful educator, first in connection with the Troy Female Seminary, and later as the Principal of the Patapsco Institute in Maryland.

After completing his studies at St. Timothy's Hall, Md., Princeton College, N. J., and at the Law School of Harvard University, Mr. Phelps commenced the practice of law in Baltimore, and in the Court of Appeals of Maryland, and was admitted to the bar of the U. S. Supreme Court, in 1859. In politics, he took no active part until the autumn of 1860.

Shortly before the latter date, the disorders which characterized the local rule of the Know-Nothing organization in the city of Baltimore, had compelled citizens of all parties to unite in an effort for municipal reform. A military organization, known as the "Maryland Guard," of which Mr. Phelps was one of the originators, speedily gathered into its ranks several hundred young men, who volunteered their services to sustain the measures of the State Legislature for the suppression of ruffian control of the ballot-box, by the establishment of a police system analogous to that already introduced in New York, including a subdivision of the wards into election precincts, and other features designed to secure the freedom and purity of elections. Of the regiment thus formed, Mr. Phelps was chosen one of the first captains, and afterwards major.

The nominations of the "Reform Party" were made in disregard of the usual machinery of ward conventions, by a select committee of leading citizens, who assumed the responsibility of appealing to the people at a fair election for the support of their candidates. They were all elected by unprecedented majorities. Mr. Phelps was among those elected to the City Council, where he served as Chairman of the Committee on Police.

The sectional difficulties shortly after culminated in rebellion and civil war, and on the 19th day of April, 1861, a Massachusetts regiment was mobbed while passing through the streets of Baltimore on its way to Washington.

In obedience to orders, the Maryland Guard, which still retained its organization, was assembled at its armory, on the corner of Baltimore and Calvert streets surrounded by an excited multitude. It was at once apparent that a large majority of its members were in sympathy with the prevalent spirit of hostility to the Federal troops. A very few, on the other hand, including Mr. Phelps, still major of the regiment, vainly endeavored to stem the current.

Great anxiety was manifested by all to know what orders would come from the civil authorities; and when they at length were received, the orders were applauded by the crowd. Mr. Phelps declined to obey, and withdrew, forwarding immediately a formal resignation of his commission, assigning as his reason that he could not conscientiously serve under such orders in view of his construction of the oath which he had taken to support the Constitution of the United States.

In August, 1862, he accepted the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 7th Regiment of Maryland Volunteers, a new regiment of Infantry raised and commanded by Hon. Edwin H. Webster, then a member of the House of Representatives. In November, 1863, upon the resignation of Colonel Webster consequent upon his re-election to Congress, Colonel Phelps was commissioned and succeeded to the command.

This regiment, with the exception of one company from Baltimore City, was recruited from the border counties of Maryland—Harford, Baltimore, Carroll, Frederick, and Washington. It was ordered into the field on the 12th of September, 1862, and was organized with the 1st, 4th, and 8th Maryland Regiments into a separate brigade, under the command of General John R. Kenly.

The Maryland Brigade was constantly in active service, at first on the Upper Potomac and in West Virginia, until after the battle of

Gettysburg, when it was assigned to the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac, under Major-General Meade. On the reorganization of that army by Lieutenant-General Grant, the Maryland Brigade was assigned to General Robinson's (2d) Division of General Warren's (5th) Corps, under the command of Colonel N. T. Dushane, of the 1st Maryland Volunteers, afterwards killed in action. On the second day of the "Wilderness" it was temporarily reinforced by the 14th New York (Brooklyn) Regiment. In this action, Colonel Phelps had a horse killed under him while "rallying" his regiment during a temporary confusion. At Spottsylvania Court House, on the 8th of May, 1864, he succeeded to the command of the brigade after the fall of Colonel Denison, severely wounded.

The fall of General Robinson, also severely wounded, placed him in command of the division, or its remnant, while in the act of charging a line of breastworks held by a division of Longstreet's corps. The assault was repulsed with heavy loss, and Colonel Phelps, while leading the column, had his horse shot, was wounded, and taken prisoner at the foot of the breastworks. Subsequently, on the recommendation of Major-General Warren, approved by General Grant, Colonel Phelps was commissioned Brevet-Brigadier-General for "gallant conduct" in this action.

He twice endeavored to effect his escape, and at last succeeded in eluding his guard while being taken to the van, and lay concealed within the enemy's lines, under shell and musketry from the Union side, in expectation of an advance and re-capture. While in this situation, exhausted from the loss of blood, he was discovered and robbed by Rebel stragglers, who threatened his life, and might have taken it, but for the timely arrival of a Confederate Provost Guard. He was taken to their field-hospital and treated with attention, especially by some who had been his comrades in the Maryland Guard.

The day after being captured, while on the road to Richmond under a guard of the enemy's cavalry, with over three hundred Union prisoners, the convoy was overtaken by the advance of Sheridan's

cavalry, and a brief skirmish resulted in the rescue of the prisoners, and the capture or dispersion of their guard. Those prisoners who were not disabled, armed themselves from an ordnance train captured at the same time, while those who were wounded suffered excessively during the ten days which followed of rapid marching and frequent fighting. It was during this raid that the celebrated Rebel cavalry general, J. E. B. Stuart, was killed at the battle of Yellow Tavern. Here, as well as at the battles of Meadow Bridge, the Defenses of Richmond, etc., General Sheridan fought and maneuvered his cavalry with an intrepidity and skill which finally secured the success of his expedition in communicating at Haxall's Landing with the Army of the James.

Colonel Phelps was in Baltimore, an invalid, when that city was in imminent danger of capture after the defeat of General Wallace at Monocacy, in July, 1864. He volunteered his services to Major-General Ord, to assist in the defense of the city, and was assigned to his staff as additional Aid-de-camp until the invaders were repelled.

The Third Congressional District of Maryland, consisting of the thirteen upper Wards of Baltimore city, was represented in the Thirty-eighth Congress by Honorable Henry Winter Davis. His Reconstruction Bill, reversing the policy announced by President Lincoln in his Amnesty Proclamation of December 8, 1863, passed Congress in July, 1864, but was prevented by the President from becoming a law. Mr. Davis, in connection with Senator Wade, issued a protest, denouncing President Lincoln and his policy. The Congressional District Convention of the Union party met shortly after in Baltimore, and at once nominated Colonel Phelps by acclamation as Mr. Davis' successor. He had been honorably discharged the service on account of disability from his wound, and accepted the nomination in a speech defining his position as "radical in war and conservative in peace."

In the Thirty-ninth Congress, he served on the Committees on Naval Affairs and on the Militia. He opposed, by speech and vote, the Radical measures and policy of reconstruction, and advocated the im-

mediate restoration of the Southern States without further condition than the abolition of slavery secured by Constitutional Amendment. He voted, however, under the shape which it finally assumed, for the additional Amendment known as Article XIV.

In 1866, the Democratic party made no nominations in the Third District, but supported those of the Conservatives, by whom Mr. Phelps was nominated to the Fortieth Congress, and elected after a struggle of unprecedented fierceness. The circumstances that attended this election, including the trial and removal of the Police Commissioners by Governor Swann; the arrest and imprisonment of their successors by order of Judge Bond; the preparations for riot and bloodshed, and the threats of armed intervention by political organizations outside the State, pervaded the entire country with excitement and alarm. Mr. Phelps' election, though secured by a large majority, was formally contested by his Radical opponent, who, after causing a large mass of testimony to be taken, abandoned the contest with an apology. Mr. Phelps declined a re-nomination to the Forty-first Congress.

In the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Phelps was placed on the Committees on Appropriations, and on Expenditures in the War Department. His course on Reconstruction, Impeachment, and other political questions, identified him with the Democratic minority.

In September, 1864, Mr. Phelps served upon a commission appointed by Gov. Bradford to revise and codify the State Militia laws. He was an invited guest of the New England Society at their Anniversary Banquet in New York in December, 1864, and responded to the sentiment, "Free Maryland."

He attended the Union "Soldiers' and Sailors'" Conservative Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, in September, 1866, as a delegate for Maryland. In February, 1867, he declined an executive appointment as a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Maryland. He is a Trustee of the Antietam National Cemetery, a member of the Maryland Historical Society, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.



W. W. Ker

MARTIN WELKER.



FEW men in this country have a history which illustrates in a more striking manner what can be accomplished by energy, perseverance, and native talent, under the favoring influences of our free institutions, than that of Martin Welker.

He was born in Knox County, Ohio, April 25, 1819. His father, who was of German extraction, was an early settler in Ohio; and having but little means to educate a large family, the subject of this notice was obliged to rely almost exclusively upon his own resources, which did not consist in money, influence, or friends. His educational advantages in youth were limited to a few years' winter instruction in the log-cabin school-houses of the West. At an early period he developed an unusual taste for books and knowledge, and such were his habits of application that he very soon acquired a knowledge of the English branches taught in the schools at that time. At the age of thirteen he left his father's farm, and obtained a situation as clerk in a store, where he remained five years, in the mean time occupying much of his leisure time in studying the higher branches of an English education. At the age of eighteen, having made considerable progress in a general education, he entered a lawyer's office, and commenced the study of a profession in which he has since become distinguished.

While engaged in the study of the law, he occupied a portion of his time in the study of the Latin language and general history. In the literary societies with which he was connected at the time, he soon became noted as an able debater and a vigorous and accomplished writer.

In the political campaign of 1840 he took a very active part for one so young. The editorial department of the paper published in the county in which he resided received many able contributions from his pen.

At twenty-one he was admitted to the bar, and rapidly rose to distinction as a jurist and advocate. After he had been practicing ten years, he was nominated and elected District Judge of the Sixth District in Ohio, and served for a term of five years. At the close of his term he was re-nominated; but on account of much political excitement at the time, he being a Whig in politics and the district largely Democratic, he lost a re-election, though running far ahead of his ticket.

His judicial career was marked by great industry, legal knowledge of a high order, and the strictest impartiality in the administration of justice. By his urbanity of manner, his uprightness of conduct, his discriminating judgment, and his stern inflexible impartiality, he won the respect of his colleagues on the bench, the members of the bar, and his fellow citizens.

Possessed of decided executive ability, and with a great knowledge of men, and of the means of political advancement, Judge Welker has at all times exerted a large influence in the political organization with which he has acted. In a quiet and unobtrusive way, he has contributed much towards shaping the political destinies of his State.

In politics he has been always a firm and unwavering friend of freedom.

In the fall of 1857 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio, at the same time that Chief-Justice Chase was elected Governor. He served one term, and declined re-election. As President of the Senate, *ex-officio*, he was distinguished as a model presiding officer; his great self-possession, urbanity of manner, legal knowledge, and executive ability, admirably adapting him to a position of that kind.

At the breaking out of the rebellion, he was appointed a Major on the Staff of General Cox, afterwards Governor of Ohio, and served

out the term for which the first soldiers were enlisted. He was then appointed aid-de-camp to the Governor, and assigned to the duties of Judge-Advocate-General of the State, and served until the expiration of the term of Governor Dennison. In this position, by his fine business qualifications, he contributed valuable service in calling out and organizing the Ohio troops.

In 1862, he was appointed Assistant-Adjutant-General of the State of Ohio, and was the State Superintendent of the draft in that year. While on that duty he was nominated for Congress by the Republican party of the Fourteenth Ohio District, but was defeated by a majority of thirty-six votes. In 1864, he was again nominated, and was elected by a large majority to the Thirty-ninth Congress. In 1866, he was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, serving on the Joint Committee on Retrenchment and on the Committee for the District of Columbia. In October, 1868, he was elected to the Forty-first Congress.

As a representative in Congress, Judge Welker is a working member. When he speaks, he speaks briefly, to the point, and with much force and clearness. Thoroughly Radical in his political views, he has supported with ability all the leading measures of his party.

When the great subject of Reconstruction was under consideration, on the 7th of February, 1866, Judge Welker made a speech in the House of Representatives, from which the following extracts are taken :

"No graver or more responsible duties ever devolved on an American Congress than are now upon us. This is the time and this the occasion to settle for all time in this country the great ideas and principles lying at the foundations of our noble structure of government. Let these foundations now be made strong, that in coming time the winds and storms of rebellion and revolution may beat in vain against the grand fabric erected thereon. Our fathers made this for a free government; one to which the persecuted and down-trodden of the world might fly and find secure asylum and equal

rights. In the short period of less than a century, which is but a day in the life of a nation, the grand idea of our fathers was so far forgotten and departed from that we held four millions of God's creatures as the brutes of the field to be sold in the market, and their unrequited toil used to nurture and support a purse-proud and haughty oligarchy of oppressors in the land.

"Let us now make it what our fathers intended it to be, and secure to all their God-given rights, secure equal and exact justice to all men. To accomplish this we must not be in a hurry with the work. In this fast age we are apt to desire the accomplishment of too much in a given time. Let these men so lately engaged in the rebellion have time to satisfy us that they are thoroughly cured of many of the heresies they have heretofore entertained. They can afford to wait after what they have done against the Government, after the great injury they have inflicted upon the country—the deluge of blood, the ravages of war they have caused all over our land, the widows and orphans they have made, the crippled and maimed soldiers they have scattered everywhere among us. There is much for them to do in the way of improvements and reforms in their localities before they are ready to assume all the responsibilities of government. As a matter of law, most of them have forfeited their lives; and if the laws were enforced strictly against them, many of them would be hung for treason. They should remember that during these bloody four years they have caused the sacrifice of millions of precious lives and thousands of millions of treasure in this attempt to disconnect themselves from the Government, and establish for ever the infernal institution of slavery.

"From the first commencement of this unholy war until their final surrender to overpowering force, these rebels never for a moment entertained any love for our Government or regret for what they had done. Now that they are conquered by our arms, they have no right to complain upon the demand of them of conditions and guarantees for the future. * * *

"It is said that the Union party is opposed to the re-union of the

States, and is trying to prevent its accomplishment. I deny any such purpose. The party that for four years carried on this war for the Union, that supported the administration in the days of darkness and gloom against traitors at home as well as in the field, that strengthened its hands and sustained its policy, will not desert the cause now. This party, so far as I know, does not desire to keep the Representatives of these States lately in rebellion out of Congress one moment longer than is necessary for the public good. But the great questions settled by the war, the great principles of eternal justice, must not be sacrificed or ignored by any act of this Union party. We all desire, I hope, the accomplishment of union and harmony with all the States represented on our common flag. But it must be done so that we shall have no more rebellions and no more controversies to embitter our relations, growing out of the causes that led to the late rebellion. These should be settled now and for ever. When that is accomplished, a grand and glorious future awaits us. Then will be realized the grand purpose of our fathers in the creation of this Government. With the finest soil, the most beautiful rivers and lakes, the most enterprising and intelligent population, we will then take our stand proudly and gloriously among the nations of the world, the model Republic, with universal intelligence, freedom, and equality, as the great lights to guide us in our advancement in the pathway of civilization.

When the Impeachment of the President was first proposed, it was not favored by Judge Welker. His reasons for opposing the proceeding, and subsequently changing his views of duty, were forcibly presented in a brief and effective speech in the House of Representatives, February 24, 1868 :

"When the Report of the Judiciary Committee was before the House," said he, "I voted with a majority of Republican members against Impeachment. The charges then made against the President covered a wide field, and involved so many different questions growing out of the results of the war, that I feared the delay that would attend a trial in the Senate, and its effects upon the great public interests of

the country. There were so many subjects of legislation demanding the attention of Congress, that I felt then it was best for the country to endure as long as possible the bad conduct of the President, rather than resort to this extreme measure. But this forbearance on behalf of those who then voted against the proposition, was regarded as a license for further assumptions of power. The charges now make a plain and simple issue, easily proven, and requiring but short time for trial, and involve the violation of the Constitution and the laws, in but a few particular acts committed since the former proceedings were terminated. * * * The people of this country will not be confined to our charges and specifications against the President. They will go behind these charges, and in their discussions canvass his whole course of conduct. They will think of his desertion of the great party that elected him; of his treachery in transferring the influence of his high office to those who had been the enemies of the country; of his crime in raising up rebel resistance to acts of Congress made to establish the peace of the country and protect the weak and down-trodden; of the great obstructions he has placed in the way of the restoration of the rebel States; and of the wide-spread of corruption under his administration, threatening the whole revenues of the country with destruction. It is said that this impeachment proceeding is a war of Congress upon the President. It is, in truth, the result of a war of the President upon the rights of the people—a struggle between grasping and domineering power on the one side, and a bold and daring assertion of the great prerogatives of the people's representatives on the other. In all such contests the people will prevail, and the executive power be confined within the limits of the Constitution and the law. No free government was ever overthrown by curtailing the power of the executive. The danger lies in the other extreme, that of its increase and disregard of the voice of the people in the abridgement of their rights."



James Russell

THOMAS CORNELL.



FROM a careful investigation of public and private records, recently made by Hon. Ezra Cornell, it appears that the numerous families that bear the name of CORNELL have descended from different parental stocks which emigrated from Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century.

The subject of this sketch is descended from that particular family to which, in July, 1646, Mr. Wm. Kieft, then "Director General and Council for the Prince of Orange," delivered a grant of land in Westchester County, at a point on the East River afterwards known as "Cornell's Neck."

Thomas Cornell was born at White Plains, Westchester County, New York, January 23, 1814. Having enjoyed the limited advantage of a common school-education, he was first employed as a clerk in the city of New York. In 1843 he removed to Ulster County, where, with a very small capital, he began on his own account the forwarding business between Eddyville and New York. Six years later he engaged in the new and growing traffic which followed the completion of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, a traffic which under his skillful management made rapid progress, till at length it has attained the mammoth proportions which we witness to-day.

With the sudden increase in the products of labor which naturally sought a market in the metropolis, there arose the necessity of increased facilities for the transportation of freight and passengers on the waters of the Hudson, and to this latter work, in 1848, Mr. Cornell began to devote his energies. In this enterprise his untiring industry and careful business management have for twenty years been at-

tended with uniform and signal success, so that he is to-day the sole proprietor of twenty-three steamboats, some of them first-class in size, cost, and speed, and constituting one of the largest and most valuable steam fleets in the country.

It is but natural that the capacity, energy, and industry which attained such results, should have opened up to them still other departments of successful enterprise. Hence we find Mr. Cornell becoming in turn the founder and president of the First National Bank of Rondout, of the Rondout Savings Bank, the originator and president of the Rondout and Oswego Railroad, now in process of construction, and also of the Horse Railroad which connects Rondout with Kingston, all of which positions he still holds. He seems gifted with that rare and peculiar adaptation to business which almost instantly and instinctively discovers the elements of success or failure in every business transaction, with that self-reliance and energy which prompt him to go forward directly and confidently to the object before him, and with that keen, penetrating, and comprehensive knowledge of human nature which is so essential in the choice of men to carry out his plans.

As a citizen he is noted for his continued efforts to secure the general good of the community in which he resides. He is always ready to aid in any measures which tend to augment its wealth or add to its attractiveness. His gifts for the building of houses of worship and the support of the Gospel among the various denominations, are frequent and liberal.

Though never a politician, either by choice or inclination, Mr. Cornell has always been known for his zealous and faithful adherence to the principles of the Republican party. Upon the leading questions of political economy, he has thought deeply, and clearly comprehends the fundamental principles upon which our Republic rests, as well as the elements which are best fitted to secure the stability and permanence of its institutions; while his appreciation of the blessings which flow from a well-ordered government is ardent and strong. A man of the people, he is in the closest sympathy with them, irre-

spective of nationality, creed, or complexion. His friends, therefore, have long regarded him as endowed in a peculiar manner with the more solid and sterling qualities of the efficient legislator, but not till recently have they been able to prevail upon him to accept any public trust at their hands. His consent, when finally obtained, was given with the utmost reluctance and at great personal sacrifice. In his district, which has been uniformly and largely Democratic, he was elected to the Fortieth Congress by a handsome majority. His public service has more than met the expectation of his friends. He has discharged the duties of member of the Committee on Education and also of that on Roads and Canals; his faithful and efficient guardianship of the interests of his constituents securing for him the increased confidence and esteem of both parties.

The source of Mr. Cornell's great popularity is to be found, not, as is too often the case, in the shrewd and skillful maneuvers of the mere politician, but rather in the general public conviction of the purity of his moral and Christian character, his superior business qualifications, his great tact in the selection of right men and measures, his stern devotion to the principles of truth and justice, and possibly more than all, in his unbounded liberality. This last is of all others his predominant characteristic. Upon needy and meritorious public institutions his gifts have been bestowed, tens of thousands of dollars at a time, and in such rapid succession as to astonish even his most intimate friends. These free-will offerings, in many instances unsolicited, so far from being restricted to his own individual relationships or preferences, have been extended to the widest range of Christian and philanthropic benevolence. In giving, however, as in everything else, he is never reckless or indiscriminate, but shrewd and well advised, always taking into account the worthiness of the object, and the amount of good which is likely to be attained. His princely liberality was particularly manifest during the recent Rebellion, as well in raising and sending men to the field, as in providing for the maintenance of their families during their absence. Many a soldier's taxes were paid while he was serving his country,

and many a soldier's widow and children were relieved by his ready hands.

Mr. Cornell's method of thinking is peculiar to himself. He generalizes with great rapidity, often deciding upon the merits of the most intricate proposition the instant it is fairly stated, but never without taking into account its minutest details. Hence the promptness and punctuality with which he dispatches business, and the number and magnitude of his business transactions. He is emphatically a man of deeds, not words; yet when the occasion requires, he speaks with much effectiveness, is self-possessed, and has a ready command of language. There is, moreover, a subdued earnestness in his manner, and a pathos in the tones of his voice, which never fail to attract attention and produce a favorable impression. In manners he is quiet, modest, and even retiring, never obtruding his opinion where it is not desired, but easy, graceful, and attractive in conversation. In his external demeanor there is not, to the ordinary observer, the slightest indication of his high position or great success; and yet in many respects, Thomas Cornell is one of the most remarkable men in the Fortieth Congress.



Geo. W. Julian

GEORGE W. JULIAN.



HE Julian family is of French origin. The first of the name came to America sometime in the last century, and settled on the eastern shore of Maryland. Their descendants, however, soon scattered in various directions. One of the family is mentioned in Irving's "Life of Washington," as living near Winchester, Virginia, soon after Braddock's defeat. The next notice we have of the family, is in North Carolina, where Isaac Julian, the father of the subject of this sketch, was born and reared among the Quakers, who gave that State a character for loyalty and anti-slavery sentiment, found nowhere else in the South. Early in the present century, he removed to Indiana, where he was one of the earliest of the pioneer settlers. He was a man of sound judgment and practical ability. He took a part of some prominence in the affairs of the young State, and was at one time a member of the State Legislature.

His son, George W. Julian, was born near Centreville, Indiana, May 5, 1817, in a log house, which is still standing in a good state of preservation. When George was six years old, his father died, leaving to the excellent mother and six children an inheritance of poverty and hardship.

George was a boy of very industrious habits, exhibiting at an early age those sterling qualities of character which have since distinguished him. He was particularly remarkable for his close application to study, and his unconquerable resolution. When not engaged in labor necessary for the support of himself and other members of the family, he was constantly poring over books, which he had managed to borrow from kind neighbors. His principal opportunities of study

were by fire-light, and after the other members of the family had retired to rest. Thus he soon prepared himself for teaching; and long before he came of age, he was engaged during the winter months at the head of a district school.

In the twenty-second year of his age, and while engaged in teaching in Illinois, he commenced, without a preceptor, the study of law; and so diligent and successful was he in his law studies, that, in the following year (1840), he was admitted to the bar. He began the practice of his profession in Greenfield, Indiana; and after two years he returned to Centreville, where, with little interruption, he continued the practice of law for more than twenty years.

In 1845, Mr. Julian was elected to the State legislature, to represent the county of Wayne. He took a prominent part in advocating the abolition of capital punishment, and in support of what was then known as the "Butler Bill," by the passage of which one-half of the State debt was cancelled, and the State probably saved from repudiation.

Mr. Julian, though a strong Whig, yet possessed that fearless and independent spirit which could rise above party ties whenever its principles were likely to be perverted by designing leaders. No party could ever be made strong enough to hold him in its ranks for a moment after he believed it had once deserted the great principles of justice and humanity. It was doubtless this stern conviction of right that ultimately separated him from the Whig party. From his earliest connection with the politics of the country, he abhorred slavery, and regarded with contempt those who would cringe to its power. For years he seems to have foreseen the terrible crisis through which the country has recently passed, and warned the people to resist the encroachments of the slave power, as the only means of averting a great national calamity.

Actuated by such sentiments, Mr. Julian, in 1848, aided in the nomination of Van Buren and Adams, the Free-Soil candidates for President and Vice-President. He returned from the Buffalo Convention overflowing with enthusiasm in the cause of freedom. He was

appointed elector for his District for Van Buren and Adams, and engaged with heart and strength in the unequal contest. In this new and great career on which he had entered, he endured the disruption of social ties, and received the hisses and execrations, the abuse and calumnies of many of his former political associates, but courageously confronted his ablest opponents, and lashed the adversaries of freedom until they cowered before him, and confessed the strength of his cause. All parties were astonished at his power and success, which was so great that in 1849 he was elected to Congress over the late Hon. Samuel W. Parker, a prominent Whig politician, and one of the best speakers of the West.

Though elected principally by Democratic votes, Mr. Julian faithfully sustained, against all temptations, and during his entire term in Congress, the principles upon which he was elected. His speeches on the slavery question, and his uncompromising course in opposition to that system, tended still further to widen the breach between him and his former associates. He was one of the fathers of the Homestead Law. Grace Greenwood thus wrote of his speech on the subject of the public lands, delivered during his first term in Congress:

"This was a strong, fearless, and eloquent expression of a liberty-loving and philanthropic spirit. It is lying before me now, and I have just been reading some of its finest passages; and, brief and unstudied as it is, it does not seem to me a speech for one day, or for one Congressional session. It seems moved with the strength of a great purpose, veined with a vital truth, a moral life-blood beating through it warm and generous. It is something that must live and work yet many days."

In 1851, Mr. Julian was again a candidate for Congress in opposition to Mr. Parker, but was this time defeated. In 1852, he was, by the Free-Soil Convention at Pittsburg, placed upon the ticket with Hon. John P. Hale, as candidate for Vice-President. This served to increase his reputation among the more liberal thinkers of the country, and made his name less than ever the property of his own State.

1854 was the year of Know-Nothingism—a new and strange order,

which failed not to find in Mr. Julian a most formidable and uncompromising opponent. He continued to wage an incessant warfare against it, until it ceased to exist as an organization. His anti-Know-Nothing speech, delivered at Indianapolis in 1855, is esteemed by many as the ablest argument which this remarkable movement called forth.

In February, 1856, occurred at Pittsburg the great National Convention of all who were opposed to the Democratic party. It was at this convention that measures were taken for the organization of the National Republican party. Of this important convention, Mr. Julian was one of the Vice-Presidents, and Chairman of the Committee on Organization, through whose report of a plan of action the party first took life.

In 1860, Mr. Julian received the Republican nomination for Congress in the Fifth District of Indiana, and in spite of much and varied opposition, was elected by an overwhelming majority. He has since been four times re-elected, in the last instance largely by a new constituency, the State having recently been re-districted for Congressional purposes.

At the organization of the Thirty-seventh Congress, Mr. Julian was placed upon the Committee on Public Lands, and also on the important Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. On the election of Mr. Colfax as Speaker of the Thirty-eighth Congress, he appointed Mr. Julian Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. He was continued on the Committee on the Conduct of the War so long as this committee continued to exist.

Mr. Julian has been an exceedingly active and efficient member of the National Legislature. Among the important measures introduced by him during his ten years' service in Congress, may be mentioned the bill repealing the Fugitive Slave law of 1850 and 1793; a bill abolishing the coast-wise slave trade; a bill providing homesteads for soldiers and seamen on the forfeited lands of rebels; a bill providing for the sale of the mineral lands of the Government; a bill fixing eight hours as a day's work for all Government employees (laborers and mechanics); a bill extending the homestead law over the public

lands of the Southern States, in restricted allotments to white and colored, with a prohibition of further sales in that region ; a bill equalizing bounties among our soldiers and sailors on the basis of eight and one-third dollars per month in lieu of bounties in land ; a bill preventing the further issue of Agricultural College scrip to the rebellious States ; a bill establishing the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia, without regard to race or color ; a bill establishing the same principle in all the Territories of the United States, being the first introduced in either House on the subject ; the bill declaring forfeited the lands granted to Southern railroads in 1856 ; a bill making the public domain free to honorably discharged soldiers and seamen ; and a bill withdrawing the public lands from further sale except under the pre-emption and homestead laws.

W. H. Goddard, Esq., in a brief sketch of the life and services of Mr. Julian, published two years ago, thus enumerates his most important speeches :

“ The speeches of Mr. Julian during the war, both in Congress and before the people, have been among the very ablest of the crisis. That delivered in the House on the 14th day of January, 1862, on the ‘ Cause and Cure of our National Troubles,’ is one of which his friends may well be proud, and to day reads like a prophecy fulfilled. His speech on ‘ Confiscation and Liberation,’ delivered in May following, is similar in character. That delivered in February, 1863, on the ‘ Mistakes of the Past ; the duty of the Present,’ is a merciless review of ‘ Democratic Policy,’ as seen in the facts and figures which had been supplied by the investigations of the Committee on the Conduct of the War. In the winter of 1863-4 he delivered a very thorough and forcible speech on his bill providing homesteads for soldiers on the lands of rebels, which was followed by another on the same subject, involving a controversy with Mr. Mallory, of Kentucky, who met with a most humiliating discomfiture. During the session of 1864-5, Mr. Julian delivered an able speech on the sale of mineral lands, and another on ‘ Radicalism and Conservatism,’ closing with a handsome and eloquent tribute to the anti-slavery pioneers. His

speech on 'Reconstruction and Suffrage,' delivered last fall before the Legislature of Indiana, is reckoned among the most thorough and effective he has yet made; whilst his speeches at the present session of the Thirty-ninth Congress on 'Suffrage in the District of Columbia,' and on 'Amending the Constitution,' add still further to his reputation as a thinker, and a perfectly independent man who knows how to say what he thinks. All his speeches breathe the spirit of freedom, and have the merit of careful thought, methodical arrangement, and a remarkably clear and forcible diction."

In addition to the speeches enumerated above, should be named those he has since delivered on "Radicalism, the Nation's Hope," "The Punishment of Rebel Leaders," "Regeneration before Reconstruction," "Forfeiture of the Southern Land Grants," "The True Policy of Land Bounties," and finally his speech of March 6, 1868, on "Our Land Policy, its Evils and their Remedy." The latter, made in support of his great measure now pending, forbidding the further sale of our public lands except to actual settlers, is perhaps the ablest and most thoroughly practical of all his speeches.

In 1860, Mr. Julian lost his excellent wife, and was soon after still further bereaved by the death of two promising sons. In December, 1863, he was married to Miss Laura Giddings, the talented and accomplished daughter of the late Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio.

Mr. Julian is tall in stature, possessing much physical as well as intellectual vigor. His expansive brow indicates clearness and strength of thought. His face bespeaks a man of firmness, conscientiousness, and benevolence. While deficient in many of the arts by which the politician wins popularity, he possesses the superior ability by which the statesman earns enduring fame.



Wm D. Kelley

WILLIAM D. KELLEY.



THE subject of this sketch, William Darrah Kelley, was born in Philadelphia, April 12, 1814. His grandfather, Major John Kelley, was an officer of the Revolutionary war. His father followed the business of watchmaker and jeweler in Philadelphia. During the financial troubles accompanying the close of the war of 1812, Mr. Kelley fell into pecuniary difficulties; his business was ruined, and he was stripped of all his possessions. He soon afterwards died, leaving his family in very straitened circumstances, when William, who was the youngest, was but two years old.

His mother, thus left with a dependent family of three daughters and a son, succeeded in maintaining herself and her children respectably. William was sent to a neighboring school until eleven years of age, when he left it finally with only the rudiments of an ordinary English education, while any further progressive study must depend upon his own exertions. He served for some time as an errand boy in a book store, and afterwards entered the office of the *Pennsylvania Enquirer* as a proof-reader, and remained there until his fourteenth year. He then apprenticed himself to a jeweler until twenty years of age—leaving his mother's roof and taking up his residence with his employer, where he continued during the term of his apprenticeship.

Young Kelley keenly realized the deficiencies of his early education, and applied himself diligently to remedy it by reading. Books, however, being difficult of access, he united with a number of his companions to found the "Youth's Library," afterwards called the "Pennsylvania Literary Institute." A library of about two thousand

volumes was soon accumulated, and the association sustained for several years an annual course of lectures. The original members and officers were nearly all apprentice boys, and the influence thus exerted upon them was of a highly salutary character. The society continued to exist until its early members had become scattered, or too deeply involved in active business to give it their attention as formerly.

Young Kelley's indenture expired in the spring of 1834—the period of pecuniary embarrassment which followed the struggle between the United States Bank and the Government. In Philadelphia, the seat of the operation of the bank, the consequent excitement and panic were intense, and with the many painful scenes that transpired around him, Mr. Kelley became familiar. Nurtured from childhood in the Democratic faith, and loving its course with all the intensity of an ardent and impulsive nature, he could not but be excited to a strong protest and resistance. He labored earnestly to strengthen the spirits of his Democratic associates against what he considered the tyranny of those who favored the interests of the bank, and it is thought that much of his intense energy of purpose and power of vehement declamation were developed by these exciting times.

Thus, when William Kelley attained his freedom, it was a season of extreme depression, which all the forms of fancy business like that which he had spent his youth in learning, were the first to feel and the last from which to recover. Nor had his course been such as to secure the favor of such employers as were of opposite politics. Hence, failing to obtain employment at his trade in Philadelphia, he proceeded to Boston, where, for four years, he pursued his calling with unremitting industry. His peculiar branch of the trade was enameling, in which he seems to have excelled, and which he is said to have pursued with the enthusiasm of an artist as well as the skill of a cunning workman.

During his residence in Boston, Mr. Kelley was not careless of mental improvement, although he pursued his business with steady industry. He read perseveringly, and gathered around him such a

choice collection of standard literature as is seldom seen in the humble apartment of a mechanic. His reading was well selected, while an unusually retentive memory enabled him to profit by it in a greater degree than most others. Nor did his political fervor abate. His enthusiastic attachment to the great distinctive principles of Democracy never grew cold for a moment. Much of his leisure time was devoted to political and historical reading and the details of party organization. It was now that his peculiar talent as a public speaker was first recognized. His style may have been crude and juvenile, but was fresh, vigorous, and impetuous; and he soon became a favorite with the masses of the party. In the Democratic papers of that day his name occurs frequently in association with those of Bancroft, Brownson, and A. H. Everett. He also commenced the cultivation of a written style, with enviable success; and, even while in the workshop, his name appears in more than one programme of lectures with those of Channing and Emerson.

The following testimonial of Mr. Kelley, while in Boston, from the pen of the assistant editor of *Burritt's Christian Citizen*, will be in place here:

"It was our good fortune, when an apprentice-boy in Boston, to enjoy the intimate companionship of this now eminent jurist and philanthropist, who was then a journeyman mechanic, devoting his days to hard manual toil, and his nights to the acquisition of knowledge. We were made a wiser and a better boy through the influence of his instruction and example; and scores of young men, who were then our companions, but who are now scattered all over the country, from Maine to Oregon, can say the same. And we rejoice, as no doubt they do, that our early friend now occupies a position which enables him to impress the influence of his noble nature upon a whole community, and carry forward his plans for the benefit of his fellow-men, with the co-operation of the wise and good, in the commonwealth which shows its appreciation of his worth by elevating him to one of its most important and responsible trusts."

Being persuaded by his numerous friends as well as by his own

inclination, Mr. Kelley finally resolved to abandon his calling for the study of the law, and with that view returned to Philadelphia. Here he pursued his studies with characteristic industry and perseverance, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1841. Entering upon the practice of his profession, he at once acquired a considerable business. Meanwhile, his political labors, and his connection with numerous literary and philanthropic associations, gave him a very extensive acquaintance. Very few men, certainly, were acquainted with so many of his fellow-citizens, while all knew him in some connection creditable to himself and calculated to inspire confidence in his manliness, integrity, and intelligence.

Even before his admission to the bar, Mr. Kelley took a warm and active part in the politics of his native State. Popular as a speaker, his influence grew stronger every day. Possessing unusual gifts as a popular orator, the warmth and energy of his speeches roused and attracted his auditors, so that his appearance on the stand was always loudly called for and enthusiastically cheered. He enjoyed, in fact, at this period, a popularity and influence seldom attained by one of his age; and when one of the newspapers of the day, in referring to his efforts to allay the public excitement consequent upon the suspension of specie payments in 1842, spoke of him as the "tribune of the people," certainly no other man in Philadelphia deserved the compliment as well.

Mr. Kelley rendered efficient aid in the canvass which resulted in the election of Mr. Polk to the presidency; also in the gubernatorial contest which preceded in Pennsylvania. During this campaign he traversed the State in company with Mr. Shunk, the Democratic candidate for Governor, addressing meetings in various places. Wherever he was heard, his practical good sense, his genuine republicanism, and his enthusiasm in the cause for which he was battling, were thought to have excited a decided influence upon the ensuing election, which made Mr. Shunk Governor of the State.

In 1845, Mr. Kelley was deputed, in conjunction with an associate, to conduct the prosecutions in the courts of the city and county of

Philadelphia. To a young lawyer, hardly initiated into practice, this was a commission of special honor as well as responsibility; nor was the latter diminished by the important State trials arising from the riots of 1845. On the part of Mr. Kelley, as well as his colleague, these prosecutions were conducted with skill, fearlessness, and energy, while it is thought to be not too much to say that the firm and capable administration of justice to which Mr. Kelley's exertions so much contributed, averted a threatened civil war.

Among the last acts of Governor Shunk's administration was the appointment of Mr. Kelley to a seat on the bench of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia. In the important trust thus imposed upon him, he united to the industry and capacity that always characterized him a sound appreciation of the moral wants of the community, and an untiring energy and boldness in the exercise of his judicial functions. His decisions were said to be stamped not only by clearness of perception and vigor of reasoning, but by a general and profound acquaintance with the literature of his profession, for which even his friends had scarcely given him credit.

Judge Kelley's elevation to the bench, while it removed him, of course, from participation in party politics, did not, however, deprive him of his interest in public movements of a general character. In whatever concerned the elevation of the laboring community and the development of the rich resources of his native State, his interest remained deep and abiding. His eloquent and successful appeals in behalf of the Central Pennsylvania Railroad, and his exertions for the establishment of public night-schools in Philadelphia, for those whose daily employment would have otherwise cut them off from all means of instruction—these and other nobler efforts during his judgeship are not forgotten.

As a writer, Judge Kelley has evinced no mean abilities, and is capable of wielding the eloquence of the pen as well as that of the lips. His style is clear, terse, and compressed, and his thoughts eminently rational and practical.

For our sketch of Judge Kelley, as thus far presented, we are in-

debted substantially to an article in the "United States Magazine and Democratic Review" for June, 1851, from the pen of Dr. Henry S. Patterson. Not far from the time when this article appeared, Judge Kelley united in a decision in a contested election case by which a Democrat, who had secured a fraudulent return of votes, was ousted from a district-attorneyship, and the Whig candidate was placed in the office to which he had been elected. The judiciary of Pennsylvania having become elective, and the Democratic Nominating Convention refusing his name for re-nomination, the people took him up spontaneously, and re-elected him to the bench by a majority of about 10,000. He continued, however, to vote the Democratic ticket until that party repealed the Missouri Compromise.

In 1856 Judge Kelley resigned his judgeship and accepted a Republican nomination for Congress. He made a vigorous and able canvass, but failed of an election. He then resumed the practice of his profession, and with distinguished success. In 1860 he was a member of the Chicago Convention, and was the Pennsylvania member of the Committee of one from each State to inform Mr. Lincoln of his nomination. In October ensuing he was elected a Representative to Congress, which office, by successive elections, he has held to the present time.


In the spring of 1867 Mr. Kelley made a tour in the South, and delivered addresses in the principal cities. While speaking to a large assemblage in Mobile, Alabama, he was assailed by a mob, and narrowly escaped with his life.

As a public speaker Judge Kelley has singular ability. His voice is remarkable for its deep, full, sonorous tone; his manner is deliberate and graceful, and his enunciation most distinct. He speaks as one deeply impressed with the truth and importance of what he says, and never fails to command profound attention.



Am Bullom

SHELBY M. CULLOM.

HELBY M. CULLOM was born in Wayne County, Kentucky, November 22, 1829. His father moved from Kentucky with his family when the subject of this sketch was scarcely a year old, and settled in Tazewell County, Illinois, where he now resides.

Young Cullom remained with his father until nineteen years of age, working upon the farm in summer, and attending a neighboring school in the winter. He, however, taught school about ten months of the time above named. At the age of nineteen, he left home and entered school at Mt. Morris University, but was obliged to leave at the close of the second year, on account of his health.

Having returned home, he remained there until his health was restored, when he entered the office of Messrs. Stewart & Edwards, at Springfield, Ill., and commenced the study of law. He was in a short time admitted to practice, and was immediately elected City Attorney, which office he held during one year.

The presidential campaign of 1856 then came on, and Mr. Cullom was placed upon the electoral ticket for Fillmore. He was also nominated for the State legislature by the Fillmore and Fremont parties uniting together, and was elected. At the meeting of the legislature, he was voted for by the Fillmore men for Speaker of the House. In 1860 he was again elected to the legislature from Sangamon County, and this time was chosen Speaker.

In 1862, Mr. Cullom was appointed by President Lincoln on a commission with Gov. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and Charles A. Dana—afterward Assistant Secretary of War—to proceed to Cairo,

Illinois, for the purpose of examining into the accounts and transactions of quartermasters and commissary officers, and pass upon claims allowed by them against the Government. He was afterward a candidate for the State Senate, and for a seat in the Constitutional Convention, in a Democratic District, and was defeated.

In 1864, Mr. Cullom was nominated by the Union party of his District for Congress; and although the District, at the last previous election, had been Democratic by about fifteen hundred majority, yet he was elected by a majority of seventeen hundred—thus defeating the Hon. John T. Stewart, with whom he had read law.

The first speech made by Mr. Cullom in Congress, was in answer to Mr. Harding, of Kentucky; who had made a bitter speech against the Union party of the country, and among other things, had said that "it was time a little posting was done." We give here an extract or two from Mr. Cullom's response:

"But, sir, as the gentleman proclaimed to this House and the country that it was time a little posting was done, I thought with him; and let me tell the gentleman and his political friends that the great Union party which has stood by the nation's flag and borne it aloft amid the fierce storm of war, is always willing that the books should be posted; and the great measures of the party, for the support of which they have received the unmeasured abuse of traitors and their sympathizers, held up to the inspection of the patriotic millions of this land.

"We are not the men, sir, to shun such an examination. The party which has shaped the policy of this nation since the election to the Presidency of the great martyr to the cause of liberty, and which has never turned its back upon the Government in its contest with treason and rebellion, and which has procured the recognition of the great principles of freedom throughout the land, has no cause for alarm when it is proposed to spread before the world its political record.

"Sir, we are willing that the items of the account shall be called over, the long columns added together, a balance-sheet struck, so that

the people may see at a glance how the matter stands. And may I call upon the loyal people to hold to strict accountability the party who is the debtor, as appears from a posting since the beginning of the accursed rebellion."

At the close of this speech, after posting the books and discussing Reconstruction at some length, Mr. Cullom said:

"I do not desire to deal harshly with these States or any fallen enemy. Rather would I turn from the scenes of rebellion and barbarity which have been enacted by those engaged in the attempt to overthrow the Republic, and look upon a brighter, better scene, as we commence the great work of rebuilding upon the scattered ruins of those once prosperous States. I shall not be guided in my action as a legislator by malice or revenge. But, sir, I cannot forget the thousands of brave and gallant men who laid down their lives in the terrible struggle that the nation might live. I cannot forget that four long years were required to crush out the causeless, wicked rebellion against the best Government in the world.

"Sir, I cannot forget that night in April last when that great man, so fitly styled the saviour of his country, was murdered by a fiend pushed on by the maddened exasperation of a dying rebellion.

"Sir, I perhaps feel as keenly the result of that last tragic act as any man upon this floor. Abraham Lincoln, a martyr for the cause of liberty and patriotism, murdered by traitors, now sleeps in the bosom of my own State and city; the patriotic sons of the Prairie State will closely guard his honored remains. And as we proceed in the performance of our responsible duties, let us stand by that old maxim, 'Let justice be done though the heavens shall fall.'"

Mr. Cullom was renominated by the Union party of his District, in 1866, and was elected by more than double his first majority. In the doings and deliberations of the Fortieth Congress, to which he was thus elected, Mr. Cullom took an active part.

On one occasion, in participating in a discussion on a measure for the protection of American citizens abroad, Mr. Cullom said:

"To-day there are about two million people in our country from

the German States, and about the same number from Ireland, that land of persecution. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1866, there were three hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and five emigrants came to this country; and during the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1867, there were three hundred and ten thousand one hundred and fourteen. Sir, they are coming—they are coming with brave hearts and stout hands; they are coming with souls panting for liberty; they are coming as it were with the eye of faith fixed and gazing upon the tree of liberty planted in American soil, enriched with patriots' blood; and as they come, full of hope and courage, they expect soon to gather beneath its protecting branches, and enjoy the blessings of a free Government. Shall this nation, as in days past, still say, Come? Shall our consuls and emigrant agents abroad still continue to point out to those oppressed millions the advantages and glories of this country, its lands, its institutions, its Government? Shall we continue our naturalization laws upon our statute-books? Shall we invite men—honest men—to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and renounce all allegiance to the sovereign over the land of their nativity? Sir, the answer to these questions depends upon the action of the Government in protecting or failing to protect its people.


“ Our duty is plain, sir. It is to declare the position of the American Government, and see that the Government stands by and maintains that position, in the protection of the rights of naturalized citizens whom we have invited to our shores, and who have sworn allegiance to our country.

“ Mr. Speaker, one of the chief glories of a nation is in its disposition and courage to protect the rights of its people; and the nation that will not strive at least to do that deserves to be blotted from the face of the earth. I do not fear, sir, either a lack of disposition, courage, or ability to do justice to all our citizens in the present struggle. All that is needed is that the American nation shall demand the right, and it will be yielded.”



Robert C. Schenck

ROBERT C. SCHENCK.

 ROBERT CUMMING SCHENCK was born in Franklin, Warren County, Ohio, October 4, 1809. His father, General William C. Schenck, was one of the early settlers in the Miami Valley, and served in the Northwestern Army under General Harrison. He died at the capital of Ohio while a member of the General Assembly.

At fifteen years of age young Schenck entered the Sophomore Class in the Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, where he graduated in 1827. He remained at Oxford as a tutor of Latin and French until he received his Master's degree in 1830. He then commenced the study of law in Lebanon, with the celebrated Thomas Corwin. Having completed his course of legal studies, he removed to Dayton, where he entered upon the practice of law. Here his legal acquirements and ability as an advocate gave him rapid advancement in his profession, and secured him a large and lucrative practice. In 1838 he was first a candidate for public office. He ran on the Whig ticket for the legislature, and failed by a few votes to be elected. He entered with zeal into the presidential canvass of 1840, and obtained a reputation as a popular speaker second to none in Ohio, save that of Corwin. In 1841 he was elected to the legislature of Ohio, and was recognized as a leading spirit among the Whigs in that body. At the extra session of the legislature in the summer of 1842, he defeated the scheme of the Democrats to pass an apportionment bill arranging the districts in such a way as to promote the interests of the Democratic party. Through his influence the Whig members of both branches of the legislature resigned. The remainder, being less than a quo-

rum, were unable to carry out their plan of "Gerrymandering" the State. At the following session an apportionment bill, not so odious as the first, was passed in time for the Congressional election.

Mr. Schenck was re-elected to the legislature by an increased majority. He distinguished himself by laboring to secure economy in the finances, advocating internal improvements, and assisting to effect a revision of the school law.

Mr. Schenck rose so rapidly in the estimation of his party, that he was, in 1843, nominated for Congress, and was elected by a large majority, in a district which was usually very close. He served in Congress with great efficiency during four successive terms. He was a member of several important committees, and in the Thirtieth Congress was Chairman of the Committee of Roads and Canals. He was recognized as one of the Whig leaders of the House. He took a prominent part in discussions, and was regarded as a very formidable competitor in debate.

In 1850, Mr. Schenck refused a re-nomination for Congress, and was the following year appointed, by President Fillmore, Minister to Brazil. His powers were subsequently extended by a commission to treat with the authorities of Uruguay and Paraguay. He negotiated several important treaties, by one of which the navigation of the River La Plata and its tributaries was made "free to the merchant flags of all nations."

After Mr. Schenck's return to the United States in 1854, for a number of years he took no active part in politics. In addition to occasional practice at the bar, he was engaged in the management of a line of railroad from Fort Wayne, Indiana, to the Mississippi River.

At the election of a successor to Mr. Chase as United States Senator, Mr. Schenck received the vote of the opposition to the Democracy, but the preponderance of this party secured the election of its candidate, Mr. Pugh.

Immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter, Mr. Schenck tendered his services to President Lincoln, who commissioned him a Brigadier-General of Volunteers on the 17th of May, 1861.

On the 17th of June, 1861, General Schenck was ordered to take possession of the London and Hampshire railroad as far as Vienna.

Under instructions from General Scott, the road had been reconnoitered the day before, and no enemy discovered. General Schenck was ordered to place a regiment of his brigade in cars, and establish guards at certain points designated along the road. As the train was approaching Vienna, with but two companies on board, it was fired upon by a masked battery. Three cars were disabled, ten men were killed and two wounded. The locomotive being in the rear, the engineer treacherously uncoupled, and returned to Alexandria, leaving the little band in the midst of a largely superior force, supported by artillery and cavalry. The rebels numbered eight hundred men, mainly South Carolinians, under command of General Gregg. General Schenck with great coolness rallied his men. So much courage was displayed that the rebels withdrew, impressed with the belief that a heavy force must be in reserve.

At the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, General Schenck commanded a brigade embracing the First and Second Ohio, the Second New York, and a battery of six-pounders. His position was on the Warrenton Road, near the stone bridge. About four o'clock in the afternoon General Schenck received orders to retreat, and forming his brigade brought off his men in such an orderly manner as to distinguish them from the frightened mob which comprised the fragments of the disintegrated army. But for this orderly movement the day's disaster would have been far greater, for General Beauregard gave it as one reason why pursuit was not made that he was satisfied large re-inforcements held the Warrenton Road.

General Schenck was next assigned to the command of a brigade in West Virginia, and was actively engaged in the campaigns on the Kenawha and New Rivers. On the death of General Lander, he was ordered to Cumberland, Maryland, where he found everything in a state of confusion. Here he found scope for the exercise of his administrative abilities, and soon succeeded in restoring order and enforcing discipline.

General Schenck was next ordered to move up the south branch of the Potomac. In obedience to this order, he successively occupied and held Moorfield, Petersburg, Franklin, and other important points. He was then ordered to push on to the relief of General Milroy, who was at McDowell with a force of about four thousand men. When within twenty-two miles of McDowell, a dispatch was received from General Milroy, stating that the enemy was at least fourteen thousand strong, and would undoubtedly attack the next morning. General Schenck pushed onward with about fifteen hundred infantry, one battalion of cavalry, and a battery of artillery. The march was continued all night, and a conjunction of the forces was effected early in the morning. On consultation, General Schenck and General Milroy agreed that they could not hold the place against such a force as the enemy possessed. Instead of awaiting an attack or commencing a retreat, a feint of strength was made, and hard fighting continued until dark. Meanwhile baggage was sent off in wagon trains, and, after the close of the day's demonstration, the entire army was brought off with slight loss, considering the immense odds against it. The commander of the department pronounced the march to the relief of Milroy, the battle, and the subsequent retreat, one of the most brilliant achievements that had thus far marked the campaigns of that region.

At the battle of Cross Keys General Schenck occupied the right of the line. The rebels in heavy force attempted to flank his position. They were promptly repulsed, and fell back under a well-directed artillery fire. Until three o'clock in the afternoon, the right continued to press the enemy, and in no instance lost any part of the field they had gained. When the left gave way, General Fremont ordered General Schenck to fall back to the strong position occupied in the morning. General Fremont, when relieved of his command, turned it over to General Schenck, who, in the absence of General Sigel, had command of the First Corps of the Army of Virginia.

General Schenck, with his division, took an active part in the second battle of Bull Run. His orders were given with great prompt-

ness and judgment, and he displayed much coolness and bravery on the field. On the second day of the battle, in the thickest of the fight, he was severely wounded. A ball struck his right arm, by which his sword was thrown some distance from him. As the position was much exposed, his staff desired to carry him instantly off the field, but he persistently and repeatedly refused to go until his sword should be found. He was conveyed to Washington, and the day following his arrival the President and other distinguished persons visited him and gave him most cordial expressions of sympathy and praise. He was shortly afterwards promoted to the rank of Major-General. Secretary Stanton stated in a letter accompanying the commission, that no official act of his was ever performed with greater pleasure than the forwarding of this appointment.

General Schenck recovered slowly, and six months elapsed before he was again fit for field duty. Before he had entirely recovered from his wound, on the 11th of December, 1862, he was assigned by the President to the command of the Middle Department, Eighth Army Corps, with headquarters at Baltimore. This was one of the most difficult posts of duty in the entire service, and his fitness for it was inferred from his great reputation and experience in civil affairs.

General Schenck's administration fully met public expectation. He displayed great executive ability, firmness, and determination. He arrested and promptly punished many who to "declarations of sympathy with treason" added "acts of complicity."

As the rebels of Maryland attempted to fight the battles of the "Confederacy" at the ballot-box, it became a part of General Schenck's duty to provide that Union men should be protected at the polls, and that voters should take a suitable oath of allegiance. To effect these objects, General Schenck issued "General Order Fifty-three," celebrated among the official documents of the war, and especially odious to all secession sympathizers. Winter Davis and other Union leaders of Maryland were accustomed to speak of him as the savior of the State.

On the 5th of December, 1863, General Schenck resigned his


commission to take a seat in Congress as a Representative from the Third Ohio District. He was immediately appointed to the responsible position of Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, which he held during the Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congresses. In this position he had to do with questions of the utmost importance affecting the immense army then engaged in suppressing the rebellion. He projected many important features in the military measures which tended to promote the efficiency and success of the army. He was the firm friend of the volunteer as against the encroachments and assumptions of the regulars. He was a vigorous advocate of the draft, the enemy of deserters, and the champion of private soldiers.

On taking his seat by re-election in the Fortieth Congress, General Schenck was appointed to the most important and responsible position in the House—the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means. His sound views on financial questions and his great industry well fitted him for the important and laborious duties pertaining to this committee. His force of character, his strength of will, his readiness in debate, and his general abilities as a statesman, make him practically as well as technically “Leader of the House.”



James F. Webster

JAMES F. WILSON.

AMES F. WILSON was born in Newark, Ohio, October 19, 1828. With no early advantages for education, he, like many Americans who have attained distinguished positions, was dependent upon his own resources for that measure of culture which fitted him for those public stations which he was to occupy. Originally he learned a mechanical trade, which, however, he early abandoned for the study of the law.

In 1853, he removed to Fairfield, Iowa, where he entered upon the practice of his profession. For a considerable period he edited with much ability the local newspaper of his party, which brought his talents into public recognition.

In 1856, he was elected a member of the Convention to revise the State Constitution. His services in this body gave him a reputation through the State as a wise and judicious legislator, and a young man of great promise. In 1857, he was appointed, by the Governor of Iowa, Assistant Commissioner of the Des Moines River Improvement, then the chief work of internal improvement in the State. During the same year, he was first elected to the Legislature of the State, as a member of the House of Representatives. In 1859, he was elected a member of the State Senate, of which body he was chosen President in 1861. During that year, Hon. Samuel R. Curtis, Representative in Congress for the district in which he resided, having resigned his seat to engage in the war for the Union, Mr. Wilson was elected to serve for the unexpired portion of his term. He was subsequently elected, without opposition in any of the nominating conventions, to the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, and Fortieth Congresses. Before the

announcement of the success of the members of the Thirty-first Congress, Mr. Wilson presented a letter to his constituents announcing his determination not to be a candidate for reelection.

In 1849, Mr. Wilson was originally an *Anti-Slavery* Whig. He joined the Anti-Slavery party, which, so-called, he is sometimes represented as the opponent of slavery during the political confusion which followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Soon after, he assisted in the organization of the Free-soil party in his State, and became at once one of its most distinguished members, as he still remains one of its most active and successful adherents. In all political movements in his own State, as in the many extended spheres of his public life he has been, from the commencement of his career, an uncompromising friend of equal rights, without regard to race, color, or creed. He was an original advocate of the proposition to settle the "wild Indian" from the State, and to furnish passage which should be returned to the nation in 1858.

At the commencement of the Thirty-second Congress, Mr. Wilson was appointed chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House. The business of courts connected with the war rendered the discussion of the general importance given to that branch of law. So many important questions, and many questions touching the public interest in its most vital parts, were necessarily introduced to it, that its business was crowded with activity, and subjected to the most searching criticism. For the credit of Mr. Wilson as chief supporter, it is sufficient to state that throughout the long and tortuous turmoil of the war, with the great questions that it developed upon the destinies of the country, he remained unswervingly at his post, with the prompt consent and approval of the House, and that he did not find the difficulty in that body a single important matter which he reported there to.

On the first day of the session of the Thirty-second Congress, September 7, 1870, Mr. Wilson gave notice of his intention to introduce a joint resolution for an amendment of the constitution respecting Slavery. This was one of the first propositions relating to that subject

the machinery that shall execute the decree, or give place to those who will perform the bidding of the people. We cannot evade the responsibility which rests upon us by declaring that we 'accept the abolition of slavery as a fact accomplished.' The nation knows that this enunciation is a mere lachrymose, diplomatic intrigue employed by slavery to arrest the grand volcanic action that is upheaving the great moral ideas which underlie the Republic. The nation demands more; its faith embraces more; its acute appreciation of the true nature of the disease which preys upon its heart-strings, assures it that the work of death cannot be arrested until the fact of slavery's dissolution is accomplished; and that this may not be until, by an amendment of the Constitution, we assert the ultimate triumph of liberty over slavery, democracy over aristocracy, free government over absolutism."

In this Congress, too, Mr. Wilson advocated the employment of negro troops. In order to dispose him to accept the services of black men to aid in the salvation of the Republic, he never had any prejudices to conquer. The repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, with the removal of all the odious relics of the institution of slavery, found him at all times a prompt and indefatigable supporter.

Soon after the organization of the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Wilson reported from the Judiciary Committee a joint resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution to prohibit for ever the payment of any portion of the rebel debt. This interest was so great, and so complicated with partisan intrigues, that the danger seemed imminent that some proportion or the whole of it might be assumed, and its perpetual inhibition became a matter of great public importance. The resolution was passed by the House. It was not acted upon by the Senate, but the substance of it was included in the fourteenth constitutional amendment as finally adopted.

On the 18th of the same month, he reported from the Judiciary Committee the bill introduced by Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, establishing impartial suffrage in the District of Columbia, and opened the discussion in its favor in a very pointed and able speech, support-

ing the measure energetically in all its stages through the House, until its final passage over the Executive veto.

At the same session, on the 1st of March, 1866, he reported, with some amendments, the Civil Rights Bill, which had passed the Senate, and engineered it skillfully through the House. On a motion to recommit the bill, he made an argument on its legal aspects and general character.

At the second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, the subject of Impeachment of the President was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and was continued as a subject of their consideration in the Fortieth Congress. After a protracted examination of the evidence submitted, and of the law in the case, the committee made divided reports. Mr. Wilson made a report, in behalf of a minority, against impeachment. After an energetic debate, his proposition was adopted by the House. Mr. Wilson went to the examination of this case with the prevailing ideas with regard to the law and the practice in cases of impeachment—that the power to impeach is a vast, vague, almost illimitable prerogative, resting substantially alone in the judgment of the Senate as to the character of the offensive acts and the exigencies of the public welfare. The known deeds of the Executive led him to anticipate the necessity of reporting in favor of impeachment, and he was not inclined to suspect the legal power to meet the admitted acts by the extreme remedy of the Constitution. But the careful study of the law and history of impeachments which the occasion imposed upon him, forced him to the conclusion that, at least under our Constitution, no Federal officer could be impeached for any offense which was not named in the Constitution, or which was not a criminal offense under the laws of Congress. No such offense was shown. In support of his views he comprised in his report a careful but succinct review of every important case of impeachment in the British Parliament, and of every case brought before the Senate of the United States, with an elucidation of the law and practice under both governments, which forms an interesting and valuable treatise for the jurist and the historian. The report comprised, also, a sum-

mary of all the evidence bearing upon every charge made against the President, and a consideration of the character of each specific charge.

When the subject came a second time before the House, on new charges, Mr. Wilson was one of the most prompt and decided of those who demanded the impeachment of the President. In this instance, in his judgment, there was no doubt about the power and duty of Congress. In his view, a penal enactment of Congress had been violated, clearly, knowingly, intentionally, defiantly. He was made one of the Managers appointed by the House to carry the articles of impeachment that were found against the President before the Senate, and to prosecute them there. He gave to that prosecution his best and most active efforts, and the failure of the undertaking affected him more painfully than any public event with which he had ever been connected.


In the Thirty-ninth Congress Mr. Wilson was also Chairman of the Committee on Unfinished Business, and was also a member of the Committee on the Air-Line Railroad to New York. He has taken much interest in the subject of free communication between the Capital of the country and the North, and in the removal of the obstructions of the railroad monopolies on that line and elsewhere. Among other measures which elicited his sympathies in the Fortieth Congress, was the bill to protect the rights of American citizens.

Since the close of the rebellion he has been an active promoter of measures for the re-organization of the rebel States. He has been careful to provide, so far as any effort of his own was concerned, that they should not be restored except under such auspices and conditions as gave the country the surest attainable guarantees for the future, and yet none have hailed more readily and with greater satisfaction their restoration clothed in the garments of loyalty and law.



J. P. Dingee

JOHN F. DRIGGS.

OTH the grandfathers of John F. Driggs were soldiers of the Revolution. His ancestors were residents of Connecticut, whence his parents removed to Kinderhook, New York. Here John F. Driggs was born March 8, 1814.

In the year 1817 his father emigrated to the banks of the Susquehanna river; and after a brief residence there, moved to Fort Montgomery in the Highlands of the Hudson, near West Point. Here he resided until his son was fourteen years of age, when he again moved to the village of Tarrytown; and after remaining there two years, he settled in New York City. Here the father and mother both died, leaving a large family of sons and daughters, who inherited nothing except a moral and religious training, and limited education.

At the age of sixteen John F. Driggs was apprenticed to learn the sash, blind, and door-making business. Having finished his apprenticeship, and worked as a journeyman for two years, he commenced business as a master mechanic.

Mr. Driggs received strong anti-slavery convictions at a very early period of his life. When a boy, residing among the Highlands of New York, he had for neighbors many of the men who had been soldiers during the Revolution, and from them he frequently heard the story of the war. Such influences, together with the teachings of religious and patriotic parents, implanted within him a hatred of oppression and slavery which has been his cardinal principle of action in every phase of life.

After his removal to New York, he became vice-president of an anti-slavery society, organized among the young men attached to

the Bedford-Street Methodist Episcopal Church. This infant organization was strongly opposed by the old and leading members of the church, who considered it their duty to stop all anti-slavery agitation. Extreme measures were resorted to by the church authorities. To show how utterly futile would be their efforts to stifle the liberty of speech and the dictates of conscience, Mr. Driggs wrote the following lines :

While life's blood circles through my veins,
And of the man one drop remains,
My voice shall aid to part the chains
That bind the slave.

While Southern tyrants wield the rod
O'er half-starved images of God,
And Northern dupes obey each nod
They choose to give ;

I neither seek nor ask applause
From men engaged in such a cause ;
I'd rather suffer by their laws
Than have their praise.
Go kiss the feet of tyranny,
Ye cowards, bend the trembling knee,
Nor dare on bleeding Liberty
Your eyes to raise.

With fiendish passions uncontrolled,
The man who man as slave would hold,
Would buy and sell his God for gold
Had he the power.
So would the man in Christian guise
Who feels no pangs, nor pity rise,
Where fetter'd slaves, with pleading eyes,
Trembling cower.

So would the man who claims to be
The friend of human liberty,
Yet for the wrongs of slavery
Will find excuse.
So Northern dupes and Southern knaves,
Who are yourselves the meanest slaves,
No fairer title merit craves
Than your abuse.

Opposition to slavery is no new thing with Mr. Driggs, but has been a deeply felt and openly avowed conviction from his early years.

Mr. Driggs, being an ardent admirer of Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence, was a Democrat, but took no part in politics, except to vote, until 1844, when he actively participated in the reform movement by which James Harper was elected mayor of New York. Mr. Driggs was appointed by the Common Council Superintendent of the Blackwell's Island Penitentiary, and held the office two years, discharging its duties with fidelity and to the satisfaction of the people.

In 1856 Mr. Driggs removed to East Saginaw, in the State of Michigan, where he now resides. On his removal to the West, he immediately identified himself with the Republican party just organizing. Two years after his settlement in Michigan, he was elected President of the Village of East Saginaw, by a large majority over an old resident and popular Democratic lawyer.

In 1859 he was elected a member of the Michigan Legislature, receiving three hundred and twenty-seven majority out of five hundred votes cast in his village, and thirty-one majority in the district, which gave three hundred Democratic majority on the remainder of the ticket.

Upon the accession of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, Mr. Driggs was appointed Register of the United States Land Office for the Saginaw District.

In 1862 Mr. Driggs received the Republican nomination for Representative to the Thirty-eighth Congress from the Sixth District of Michigan. This district is very large, embracing all the Upper Peninsula, including the entire Lake Superior region, with its vast copper, iron, salt, and lumber interests. In this district, which was claimed by the Democrats, and regarded by the Republicans as doubtful, Mr. Driggs received a majority of eight hundred and fifty-seven votes. He has since been twice re-elected, receiving in 1864 a majority of eighteen hundred and fifty-six, and in 1866 a majority of four thousand and forty-six.

Soon after the commencement of the war, Mr. Driggs aided his eldest son in raising a company of volunteers for the first regiment of sharpshooters, which he commanded, and which did gallant service until the close of the rebellion.

During the war, Mr. Driggs devoted all his time, when not in Congress, to the work of raising men for the army. When he returned home from the long session of 1864, he met Governor Blair in Detroit, who requested him to raise one of the six regiments allotted to his State under the last call for three hundred thousand men. Mr. Driggs replied that he had been absent from his family for eight months, and could not undertake the work. "If we do not save our country," replied the Governor, "what will become of our families?" Mr. Driggs promptly responded, "I will try." He went immediately to work, and in sixty days the Twenty-ninth Regiment of Michigan infantry was ready for the field.

While in Washington, Mr. Driggs was untiring in his attentions to sick and wounded soldiers in the hospital. When an Indian lieutenant in his son's company, and his uncle, a former chief, died of their wounds in the hospital, Mr. Driggs had their bodies embalmed and sent home to their friends at his own expense.

In Congress, Mr. Driggs has been laborious and faithful to the country at large and to the interests of his widely-extended district. He has been very successful in securing grants of assistance to public improvements, greatly needed in his new and undeveloped district.

Since he took his seat in Congress he has never been absent at the commencement or close of any session. He has laboriously and faithfully served on the Committees of Public Lands, Pensions, and Mines and Mining, rarely missing a meeting of his committees or a vote in the House



John Lynch

JOHN LYNCH.



JOHN LYNCH was born of poor but respectable parents, in the city of Portland, Maine, February 15, 1825. Having been left an orphan at the age of seven years, he was apprenticed to a house carpenter, with the condition that he should attend school until fourteen, and then serve his apprenticeship of seven years. His master, soon changing his occupation to that of a retail grocer, took him into the store as "boy of all work."

Young Lynch was favored with good opportunities of elementary instruction, and graduated at the Portland Latin High School at the age of sixteen. He soon after became clerk in a wholesale grocery and commission house, where he remained until 1848, when he commenced the same business on his own account. This, with the importing business, he has continued until the present time, with very satisfactory success.

Mr. Lynch became an Abolitionist as soon as he was capable of forming an opinion upon moral and political questions. On becoming a voter, he identified himself with the Free-Soil party, and continued to act with it until the formation of the Republican party, of which he has been an active member from the first.

He was elected a member of the Maine Legislature in 1861, and was re-elected two years after. He did valuable service to the State on the important committees of "Frontier and Coast Defenses," "Banks and Banking," and "Finance."

In 1862 he was appointed Commandant of Camp Abraham Lincoln, with the rank of Colonel, and organized the Regiments of Maine Volunteers that rendezvoused there.

In 1864, Mr. Lynch was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, over

Hon. L. D. M. Sweat, Democratic member of the Thirty-eighth Congress, by fifteen hundred majority.

Two years after, he was re-elected over the same competitor by a majority of about four thousand. His native city, where both candidates reside, gave Mr. Lynch more majority than all the votes she gave his competitor.

In the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Lynch served on the Committee of Banking and Currency, and on the Special Committee to form a Bankrupt Law. One of the first bills passed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, was that introduced by him to prevent the return and register of those American vessels which deserted the flag during the rebellion. In advocating this measure, Mr. Lynch said :

"The question arises whether it is right to allow vessels to come back in this way by an evasion of the spirit of the laws; whether it is just to those owners of vessels who have refused to desert the flag of their country in her hour of peril? It is a cowardly argument to offer in behalf of these ship-owners, to say the country could not protect them. On the same principle the whole population might leave with their property and place themselves under foreign protection. It is for the people to protect the country in time of war; they are part of the country, and ought not to desert her when in danger. It would certainly be dangerous policy for a nation to offer inducements for its citizens to desert with their property, and identify their interests with its enemies in time of war.

In July, 1866, Mr. Lynch obtained the passage of a law exempting from duty materials to be used in building up that portion of Portland destroyed by the great fire.

In March, 1866, he made a speech on the Loan Bill, and against the contraction of the currency.

"In regard to our finances," said he on this occasion, "we have received and believed in the old and long-established precedents of the nations of Europe. Because it took Great Britain many years to return to specie payments after an exhausting war, the theory has been accepted almost without question that we cannot do otherwise. Sir,

the experiences of the country for the last five years have exploded many false theories and falsified many sanguine predictions. It was positively asserted by our foreign foes that the South could not be conquered; that it never yet had been that a free people of the numbers, resources, and territory of the Southern people were defeated and compelled to submit to the will of a conqueror; that we could not raise armies sufficient for the work; that we had no money of our own, and could borrow none in Europe; that the armies, even if raised, would, upon a return to civil life, so disorganize society that Government would be upheaved and civil order destroyed.

"Well, sir, we have seen the result of all these predictions; we have astonished the civilized world by setting at naught the most profound theories of these modern sages; we have overturned the accepted notions and ideas of past centuries, and in their stead we have hewn out our own destiny in our own way, until we stand on ground where we may safely bid defiance to the assaults of the combined physical and moral Powers of Europe.

"In view of all these facts, so grandly and imperishably carved in our history, why should we follow the ideas of Europe in regard to our financial, any more than we did in regard to our military, administration? Because the London *Times* raises the cry, and our own croakers echo it, that "we must have a financial crisis" in passing from a paper to a specie circulation, is it necessary for us to precipitate one upon the country in order to verify the predictions of these prophets of evil?

"Every day's experience goes to prove that our true financial policy is to go on and provide for the maturing obligations of the Government, without contracting or disturbing the currency of the country, which is the life-blood of its commerce. Let it alone, and it will flow when it is wanted, and find ample field for employment."

On the 4th of February, 1837, Mr. Lynch introduced bills "to provide against undue contraction of the currency," and "to provide for a gradual resumption of specie payments." He introduced the same bills in the succeeding session of Congress, and on the 7th of March,

1868, made an able speech in support of the measures. "Sir," said he, "in my view, it is of the first importance that the currency of the country shall, as soon as practicable, be placed upon a specie basis. That is the only sure foundation for our system of paper money. *

* * A resumption of specie payments cannot be secured by any mere arbitrary enactment that it shall take place immediately or on any specified day in the future; not by writing at once over the door of the Treasury, 'Specie payments are resumed,' nor by giving an order that such inscription shall be placed there on the 1st day of January, 1869, nor by attempting the financial impossibility of borrowing \$250,000,000 of coin in Europe, where our bonds are now selling at about thirty per cent. discount, and removing it to this country with the expectation of retaining it as the permanent basis of our paper money. If we promise to resume to-morrow, the public know the promise cannot be kept. The margin of forty per cent. existing between gold and paper cannot be extinguished in a day. The chasm between our paper currency and gold cannot be leaped; it must be bridged. If we promise to resume a year hence, with no provision for appreciating, in the meantime, our paper toward a par with gold, and no provision guarding against the otherwise irresistible effect of a sudden panic after the resumption has taken place, the public will not believe that we can perform our promise; and this want of faith insures failure. If we undertake only what the financial world regards as practicable to be accomplished, we shall so inspire confidence as to insure success. To inspire confidence rather than to create distrust, should now be the first aim of our financial policy.

Mr. Lynch was among the first to arrive at the conclusion that the President should be impeached. He voted for Impeachment when the measure was first introduced in the House. When it finally passed on the 24th of February, he made an able and effective speech advocating the taking of the step, which he styled "one of the highest prerogatives of the House."



Chapman

EBON C. INGERSOLL.



BON CLARK INGERSOLL was born in Oneida County, New York, December 12, 1831. In 1843, he removed with his father to Illinois. Having finished his education at Paducah, Kentucky, he entered upon the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1854, and located himself at Peoria, Illinois, for the practice of his profession.

In 1856, Mr. Ingersoll was elected to the Illinois legislature. He served, for a time, as Colonel of a Regiment of Illinois Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion. In 1864, he was elected a representative to the Thirty-eighth Congress for the unexpired term of Hon. Owen Lovejoy; and has been re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congress.

In the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Ingersoll holds the responsible position of Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia. He has shown himself an active and able Representative in Congress. His speeches give evidence of earnestness, joined with a sound and discriminating judgment. In his speech on the government of the insurrectionary States, delivered on the 7th of February, 1867, he thus advanced his views touching the status of these States as affected by their rebellion:

"I hold that the rebel States, by rebellion, destroyed all civil government within their boundaries, and destroyed their political organizations known to the Constitution of the United States, and, consequently, they ceased to be States of this Union; and by the operation of the act of secession, culminating in armed rebellion, they became the territory of the United States, when we, by our successes on the battle-field, made a conquest of their armies."

We present an extract from another speech by Mr. Ingersoll, which is interesting, not only as a specimen of extemporaneous oratory, but as an illustration of opinions of the President entertained in Congress, pending the great contest between him and the Legislative branch of the Government:

"Sir, Andrew Johnson has made no sacrifices worthy of any mention, and if he has, an appreciative and grateful people would remember them without his thrusting them in their faces on every occasion. What has he suffered? He has not suffered so much as the humblest private that fought in our armies during the rebellion. The humblest private that fought at Gettysburg or in the Wilderness is entitled to more credit than is Andrew Johnson for what he has done. Has Andrew Johnson ever fought the enemy in battle? No, sir. Has he ever made an effort to find the enemy on the tented field? Never. Has he ever even smelled gunpowder? Has he ever camped on the frozen ground? Has he ever stood guard in the stormy and dreary nights numbed with the frosts of winter? Has he ever suffered any of the privations common to the soldier, or endured any of the hardships of campaign life? No, never; not even an hour!

"What has Andrew Johnson suffered? He suffered being United States Senator in 1861; he has suffered being military governor of Tennessee, snugly ensconced in a mansion at Nashville, with a brigadier-general's straps on his shoulders, and feasted and toasted, with sentinels pacing before his door while he was securely and quietly sleeping through the watches of the night, while others braved the dangers he never met!

"And will the American people allow him to impose his infamous policy of "restoration" upon them because he claims to have suffered so much? No, sir, not even if his pretended sufferings were real. Andrew Johnson has suffered nothing worthy of remark, unless it be that he has suffered the pangs of an uneasy conscience for his perfidy to the principles of the Union party. That kind of suffering would be good for him, and I hope he may have plenty of it. There is certainly plenty of cause, and I trust it may have a good effect."

Mr. Ingersoll delivered a speech in the House of Representatives, on the 22d of February, 1868, pending the consideration of the Report of the Committee on Reconstruction in regard to the Impeachment of the President. From this speech we make the following extracts :

" I here admit freely that it is a painful duty imposed upon me as a Representative, to be called upon to vote under the solemn obligations of my oath for Articles of Impeachment against the Chief Magistrate. I bear no ill-will or malice toward the President. I am actuated by no unworthy motive. I am actuated only by a high and conscientious sense of duty. Heretofore, when this question was presented to this House, I voted no, for the reason that I did not believe the evidence sustained the charges ; neither did I believe that a conviction would follow if the articles were adopted and sent to the Senate. But here is a plain, simple case, as I understand it. The President has, in my opinion, willfully violated the letter and spirit of the Constitution, as well as the Tenure-of-Office law. I hold that his offense is complete, even if there had been no Tenure-of-Office law in existence ; for under the Constitution the President has no authority whatever, while the Senate is in session, to remove a Cabinet officer, or any other, who has been confirmed by the Senate, in the manner in which he has removed Mr. Stanton from the Department of War. We do not need the Tenure-of-Office act in this case. The offense of the President is complete, independent of that act. There is no provision in the Constitution giving to the President authority to make removals at all ; he has, however, exercised that power upon the implication that the power to appoint carries with it the power to remove."

After maintaining that the President is not a judicial officer, and has no right to pass judgment on the constitutionality of any law ; Mr. Ingersoll closed by saying :

" We passed the Tenure-of-Office law. The President vetoed it. We passed it over his veto. Then it became his sworn duty to execute it. Instead of doing that, he defies the law. He executes his veto.

and not the law. Is it not an alarming condition of affairs when the President of this great country goes deliberately at work to carry into execution his veto in defiance to that law, and all law? The President must learn that it is his duty to execute and obey the law, and that he must suffer his defunct vetoes to sleep undisturbed in that sleep which should know no waking. For the commission of this great offense by the President, I shall vote for the resolution of impeachment.

"We must not be surprised to find a party here or in the country ready to stand by and defend the President. All history shows that so long as a man possesses great power and greater patronage, he will have a party who profess to be his friends. When that monster of Roman history — Nero — poisoned his brother, his party declared that he had saved Rome. When he procured the assassination of his wife, they praised him for his justice. And when he had assassinated his mother, they kissed his bloody hands, and returned thanks to the gods. No matter, then, what the President may do, he will have a party so long as he retains power and patronage. But let us not falter in our plain duty. To forgive the President now, would be to betray the Republic."

Near the close of the Impeachment trial, certain newspaper correspondents charged Mr. Ingersoll with "recreancy and treachery," in saying that he voted for impeachment because he "was compelled to do it, though he felt at the time that it was a party blunder." In the course of a "personal explanation" in the House, Mr. Ingersoll said:

"I voted for impeachment for the reason that the managers presented to my mind a *prima facie* case against the President. I voted for the Articles of Impeachment because I believed it was my duty to do so. I have never since felt that it was a blunder; neither have I ever had reason to change my views on that subject, nor have I expressed any change of views."



R. D. Buckland

RALPH P. BUCKLAND.



OUR recent civil war, the war of 1812, and that of the American Revolution, are all associated with the history of the subject of this sketch and his immediate ancestors. His grandfather was a captain of artillery in the Revolutionary War, from East Hartford, Connecticut. He was taken prisoner by the British, and died in the Jersey prison-ship, near New York. His father went from Massachusetts to Portage County, Ohio, as a surveyor, in 1811. He enlisted as a volunteer in Hull's army, was surrendered at Detroit, and died at Ravenna, Ohio, a few months after his return home, from disease contracted in the service.

Ralph Pomeroy Buckland was born in Leyden, Massachusetts, January 20, 1812. His father, a short time before his death, had conveyed his family to the West, and settled them in the wilderness of Ohio. His premature death left them in dependent circumstances.

Ralph was dependent upon the exertions of his mother and the kindness of friends for support until he was old enough to earn a living by his own labor. He had the advantage of attending the common schools of the country during the winter, and attended the academy at Talmadge during the summer of 1830. In the following autumn he went down the Mississippi River, stopping a few months at Natchez, where he found employment as a clerk. In the spring of 1831 he was sent by his employers to New Orleans in charge of two flat-boats loaded with flour. He remained at New Orleans as clerk of the cotton house of Harris, Wright & Co. until the summer of 1834, when he returned to Ohio, spent a year at Kenyon College, studied law with Gregory Powers at Middlebury, and Whitlesey &

Newton at Canfield, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1837. During the time he was at New Orleans his leisure moments were occupied in prosecuting his studies and in learning the French language. In the summer of 1837 he commenced the practice of his profession at Fremont, Ohio, where he now resides.

In January, 1838, he was married to Miss Charlotte Boughton, of Canfield, Ohio. In 1855 he was elected to the State Senate, and re-elected in 1857, serving four years.

In October, 1861, he began to organize the Seventy-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which in three months was fully equipped and ready for the field. Soon after entering upon active service, Colonel Buckland was assigned to the command of the Fourth Brigade of Sherman's Division.

On the 7th of March, 1862, he moved up the Tennessee River, and on the 17th encamped at Pittsburg Landing—the left of his brigade resting at Shiloh Church. On the 3d of April he made a reconnaissance with his brigade four miles to the front, and on the 4th he participated in a skirmish with some of the enemy's advanced forces. On the morning of the 6th, Colonel Buckland's brigade was in line full one hour before the hard fighting began. He advanced his lines about two hundred yards on the left and about four hundred yards on the right, and met the enemy. The fighting was desperate for two hours. During this time the colonel was riding along the line encouraging his men by word and example, the rebels being repeatedly driven back. Colonel Buckland's brigade maintained its ground until ordered back by General Sherman. He was heavily engaged during the second day, and was continually in the saddle.

On one occasion, being ordered to advance his brigade under a very severe fire of artillery and musketry from the enemy, one of his color-bearers hesitated to advance. Colonel Buckland rode to the front, seized the colors, and planted them at the desired point. His brigade instantly advanced, with cheers.

General Lew. Wallace remarked on Tuesday morning, while riding over the ground which the brigade had occupied, that, "judging from

the dead bodies, here seems to have been the best and the hardest fighting."

Colonel Buckland continued in command of the brigade during the advance on Corinth until about the middle of May, when he was succeeded by General J. W. Denver. At Memphis, Tennessee, he was assigned to the command of a brigade in General Lauman's division, and formed part of the Tallahatchie Expedition.

As soon as the news reached General Grant that General Van Dorn had taken Holly Springs, General Buckland was sent with his brigade to retake the place. This having been accomplished, he was sent to drive Forrest from his camp at Dresden, West Tennessee.

On the 20th of March he joined General Sherman's corps in front of Vicksburg, and participated in the series of battles which occurred in the movement to the rear of that place. During the siege he was always active and vigilant, and at times much exposed. On the 22d of May he led his brigade down the grave-yard road, marching on foot to support the assault on the enemy's works, exposed to a murderous fire of artillery and musketry. Although General Buckland was constantly exposed until all his regiments were in position, and his men were shot down around him in great numbers, he escaped unhurt.

General Buckland remained with his command in the rear of Vicksburg after the surrender until the 1st of October, when his right arm was broken by the falling of his horse. By this injury he was incapacitated for active field service, but continued to command his brigade, except for a short time, until on the 26th of January, 1864, he was assigned to the command of the District of Memphis, where his administrative abilities were exemplified and his integrity of character was clearly manifested.

At the time of the Forrest raid into the city, General C. C. Washburne commanded that department, with his headquarters at Memphis. General Buckland had command of the troops in the city. Most of the troops had been sent in pursuit of Forrest under command of General A. J. Smith. Forrest eluded Smith near Oxford, Mississippi.

made a rapid march to Memphis, captured the cavalry patrol, rushed over the infantry pickets, and was in Memphis before daylight, took possession of General Washburne's headquarters, capturing his staff officers, clerks, and guards—the General escaping to the fort below the city. When General Buckland was awakened by the sentinel at the door, the rebels were in possession of a considerable part of the city, and on all sides of General Buckland's headquarters. General Buckland rallied about one hundred and fifty men quartered near him, caused a small alarm-gun to be rapidly fired, and instantly attacked the rebels at General Washburne's headquarters, although they out-numbered him four to one. General Buckland very soon concentrated all his forces, which were stationed in different parts of the city, and followed up his attack so rapidly and with such spirit that in less than an hour he had driven every rebel out of the city, and attacked General Forrest's main force just outside; and after a sharp fight of about one hour General Forrest was in full retreat, having entirely failed in the object of his attack on Memphis. But for General Buckland, Forrest would have held the city and captured immense stores of Government property.


General Buckland remained in command of the post at Memphis until December 24, 1864, when he resigned his commission.

Without having sought or expected political favor, he had been nominated for Representative in the Thirty-ninth Congress while still serving in the army. Without having gone home to further his interests, he had been elected by the people of the Ninth District of Ohio. In obedience to their wishes he left the military for the civil service of the country. During the Thirty-ninth Congress he served on the Committee on Banking and Currency and on the Militia. In 1866 he was re-elected to Congress, in which he is now giving his country and constituents the same conscientious faithful service which marked his military career.



Leinas Barnes

DEMAS BARNES.

OMMERCE as well as politics has representatives in the Fortieth Congress. Prominent among these is Demas Barnes, who was born in Gorham Township, Ontario County, New York, April 4, 1827. Left an orphan while yet in infancy, his life, even as a child, was full of industry and sacrifice.

At the age of fourteen he went forth into the world penniless and alone. With all his worldly possessions in his hand, he worked his way towards New York City, where, after weeks of labor and travel, he arrived without money to buy a breakfast. He immediately went to work and earned his first meal by noon. Soon after, as country boys are apt to do, he conceived a desire to visit a theater. Arriving in front of the Park Theater, fascinated by the bill and the music, he took account of his cash, but had not enough to enter the cheapest amphitheater. Where that theater then stood, is now one of the finest warehouses in America, owned by our youthful hero, and worth not less than one hundred thousand dollars.

Business being depressed, he again drifted into the country, worked upon a farm, and attended district school as he could. At eighteen we find him a clerk in a store; at twenty a country merchant; at twenty-two commencing a small business in the city of New York. The dependence of a widowed mother, and half brothers and sisters by her subsequent marriage, surrounded him with responsibilities and inspired him with energy, frugality, and ambition. Depriving himself of luxuries, he applied himself to business with untiring assiduity and with signal success.

He soon became the leading merchant in his department of busi-

ness in the world, his principal house being in New York, with branches in San Francisco, New Orleans, and Montreal.

While accumulating wealth by extraordinary exertions, he was ever alive to his want of literary culture, and applied himself at all times to the collection of useful information. A close observer of near and remote events, and a patron of benevolent institutions, his lectures before agricultural societies, and contributions to the press, called him into public notice, and obtained for him, from one of the Universities, the title of LL.D.

Mr. Barnes early became a prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce in the city of New York, a director in insurance companies, and a trustee in benevolent institutions.

Having invested largely in the mineral lodes of the Western States, and being president of several mining companies, he felt it his duty to inspect them in person, and in 1865 he undertook the arduous task. He crossed the continent to the Pacific Ocean in a wagon, visiting the mines of Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California. While making this trip, he contributed to the journals a series of letters replete with interesting narratives of personal adventure and practical observations.

These letters were subsequently published by Van Nostrand as a book, entitled, "From the Atlantic to the Pacific."

In politics Mr. Barnes was first a Whig, and an ardent admirer of Clay and Webster. Opposed to oppression and inclined to progress, he entered the Republican party at its organization, and as a private citizen resisted the extension of slavery into the Territories.

Deeming the Republican party to be drifting into sectionalism, in 1860 he declined to go as a delegate to the Chicago National Convention, saying, "I am a citizen—not a politician."

Being convinced that the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin would prove the initial point in a future war, he immediately coined his political theories into commercial accounts, and on the 16th of June, 1860, closed his business with the Cotton States. He was the first

merchant in America who refused to do business except for cash. When the war came, it found him financially prepared.

In 1864 he was nominated for Congress, but declined in favor of another representative of his own political faith. In 1866 he was again nominated, and elected by the largest majority ever obtained in his district.

In Congress he was placed upon the important Committees of Banking and Currency and of Education and Labor.

He was from the first opposed to the inflation of the currency. But this measure having been forced upon the country, and its results becoming incorporated into our financial system, he saw disaster in a too rapid contraction, and in an elaborate and exhaustive speech, delivered January 11, 1868, said :

"The currency of a country is like the center of a wheel, the value of property resting upon it being the circumference. We can follow its expansive centrifugal force without danger; but when the motion is reversed, and it acts with contracting centripetal power, it checks the momentum of the financial world. Remove the center, and the circumference crumbles with the slightest touch. The conditions of society accommodate themselves to an expanding currency without interruption. They cannot do so when contraction takes place, for the reason *that one side of the account becomes fixed and immovable*. As money disappears, values shrink with unequal rapidity, *but debts remain at their full face*. A large proportion of our property is represented by credits or debts which no legislation can reduce. We have \$21,000,000,000 of property represented by \$700,000,000 of circulating medium; or three per cent. of money to ninety-seven per cent. of confidence and credit. We have a national, state, municipal, and personal indebtedness of over \$6,200,000,000. To contract our currency \$100,000,000, reduces the total value of our property one-seventh, or \$3,000,000,000. To contract \$300,000,000, as is proposed, would extinguish one-half the values of our property, and leave our indebtedness wholly unaffected, the end of which is bankruptcy to the citizen and repudiation by the Government. We have


inflated the balloon : we have landed upon a barren island. Instead of undertaking to swim to the mainland against tides, against winds and currents, I would wait for the friendly craft to insure our safe deliverance. We must now wait for the increase of wealth and population to overtake our changed condition, and restore us to the specie standard of the world."

Mr. Barnes opposed the Impeachment of the President, in a speech delivered in the House, characterizing it as a party measure fraught with mischief to the country, as merging the Executive and Legislative Departments into one, inciting the spirit of retaliation, involving the stability of our national bonds, and possibly leading to civil war. He closed his argument with the following words: "I ask, gentlemen, what is to be the effect of their hurrying this nation into the jaws of a revolution, the end of which no man can foretell? * * I beseech you to pause in these high-handed, these useless, these dangerous measures. Behold the stagnation, destruction, sorrow and death, which have already followed as the result of your legislation. Retaliation is an element of human nature. Long pent-up rage strikes with mighty force when its chains are broken. Your zealous, enthusiastic, ambitious, and dangerous men, control the action of unthinking good men. The history of the past admonishes you—the uncertainty of the future warns you of what may follow. You are certainly sowing the seeds of anarchy, destroying national credit, and disheartening our already despondent people. Be wise, be just, be humane while yet you can. The memories of the past, the hopes of the future, our own liberties, the liberties and prosperity of our children and of our children's children, are involved in the vote you this day give. As for me, if you this day impeach the President of the United States upon the *evidence now before us*, I shall consider our liberties less secure, properties less valuable, our national honor tarnished, our country disgraced, our rights invaded, and the future full of woe and untold disaster."



F. A. Pike

FREDERICK A. PIKE.

ORTY years ago, Calais, Maine, was a new settlement on a strip of land just cleared of forest. Situated at the head of the navigable waters of the river St. Croix, it was accessible to sailing vessels eight or nine months in the year, and was connected with the Western towns by a single road, over which a weekly mail came without regularity, bringing Boston papers six or eight days old. The chief employment of its enterprising pioneer population was lumbering, a pursuit calculated to give strong and marked development to both body and mind. The exposure to the intense cold in short winter days and long winter nights, the long journeys through trackless forests and over ice-bound lakes, the danger of getting lost in the woods, and the expedients necessary to be devised in order to keep alive under such circumstances, all tended to give to the lumbermen of that day a vigor of body and mind which characterizes their children to this day. It gave fortitude and contempt for danger such as carried the Sixth Regiment Maine Volunteers, raised in this region, through their bloody charges at St. Mary's Heights and Rappahannock Station.

In this then remote settlement of Calais, Frederick A. Pike was born in 1817. When he was quite young, it was his misfortune to lose his father by accidental death. The care and support of the family thus devolved upon the widowed mother, a lady whose devotion, energy, and good sense are shown in the eminent success of her sons. The eldest of these is the well-known "J. S. P." late Minister to the Hague, whose racy epigrammatic articles in the *Tribune* and other leading journals have given him a wide reputation. The second

son, Charles E. Pike, Esq., recently Solicitor of the Internal Revenue in Washington, now in active practice at the Boston bar, has long been highly appreciated and eminently successful in his profession.

Frederick A. Pike, as a boy, was educated at public schools, taught three summer months by a woman, and three winter months by a man. He subsequently spent a short time at the County Academy, and entered Bowdoin College in the Class of 1839. In those days boating had not become so common and popular among collegians as at present, yet Mr. Pike made a voyage in an open boat from New Brunswick, Maine, to Boston, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, across a stormy and unsheltered sea, at so much personal risk as to attract the notice of the newspapers of the day. Leaving college without graduation, Mr. Pike employed himself for some years as a teacher of public schools, and as a mercantile clerk. Meanwhile he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1841.

As a lawyer, he early took high rank as an advocate and manager of causes on trial. He completely identified himself with the feelings of his client, and exhibited an unyielding determination to take care of his interests. Skillful in the examination of witnesses, quick to see and take advantage of the mistakes of his opponent, and ready on all the points of law and practice, he attained to a high degree of professional success.

He served for several years as Prosecuting Attorney for the County. He was for some time editor of the local newspaper, and has ever since retained, with greater or less intimacy, his connection with the press.

In politics, Mr. Pike was originally a Whig, and was an avowed Abolitionist when the name was odious. Since the formation of the Republican party, he has been an earnest and consistent supporter of its principles.

In 1856, Mr. Pike's friends made a strenuous effort to send him to Congress, but failed to secure his nomination. In this year he was elected to the State Legislature, and was returned for the two succeeding years, during the last of which he was Speaker of the House.

In the Legislature he held a prominent position. He made many noteworthy speeches, particularly one upon a railroad controversy of general interest, which is regarded as the happiest forensic effort of his life.

In 1860, Mr. Pike was elected, by the Republicans, a Representative in the Thirty-seventh Congress, and has subsequently served in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, and Fortieth Congresses. He most cheerfully performed the augmented duties devolved upon his office by the emergencies of the war. He was assiduous in his efforts to comply with the numerous requests of his correspondents. In addition to his regular duties as a member of Congress, he was occupied in visiting hospitals, looking after the interests of soldiers, and in transacting business for his constituents with the various departments of the Government.

During the war, Mr. Pike was one of the most fearless and emphatic supporters of the Government in the halls of Congress. Every measure for the raising of men and money had his earnest support and advocacy. Representing a maritime community, he was, on entering Congress, very properly placed on the Committee of Naval Affairs, of which he was a member during his entire term of service, and its Chairman in the Fortieth Congress. He was prompt and regular in his attention to duty on this committee, and deeply interested in measures emanating from it, advocating them upon the floor with earnestness and force. He has manifested more interest in measures affecting the trade of the country than in those more purely political. Subjects of finance, of tariff, or revenue, coming up for the action of Congress, received his close attention, and frequently called him into discussions. He has been particularly vigilant in his attention to subjects of especial concern to his constituents—the shipping, the lumbering, and the fishing interests. He was an early opponent of the Reciprocity Treaty with Great Britain, and labored with success for its repeal, believing that it operated unfavorably to the United States, and especially to the State of Maine.

When Congress became involved in the controversy with the Presi-

dent, Mr. Pike was among those who insisted most firmly upon the rights, privileges, and power of the legislative department of the Government. When the House presented Articles of Impeachment against President Johnson, he gave them his earnest and active support.

Mr. Pike's first speech in Congress was made in February, 1862. It was upon the Legal-Tender Bill; and in connection with that measure, criticized Gen. McClellan's policy, and commended that of Secretary Stanton, who had just issued his famous "Mill Spring" address to the army. The speech closed as follows:

"The next sixty days are to be the opportunity for the nation to re-assert itself. In them, past blunders can be remedied, and the memory of inefficiency be lost in the brilliancy of triumph. I have all faith in the war, when it shall move to the tones of our new Secretary. It has already done much to enlighten our people as to the destiny of the Republic. Civilians in high station and officers of leading rank have been converted by it to sound doctrines of political action. It is the measure of our civilization and christianity. In its grand march in the future, it shall carry with it, like a torrent, the sophisms and theories of vicious political organizations; and presently clearing itself of all entanglements, it will make plain to the world that this is a contest of ideas. It will try aspirants for the leadership; and when one fails, another shall supply his place; until, in God's own time, the appointed Joshua shall be found who shall lead us into the promised land of peace and liberty.

"Our duty to-day is to tax and fight—twin brothers of great power; to them, in good time, shall be added a third; whether he shall be of executive parentage or generated in Congress, or spring, like Minerva, full-grown from the head of our army, I care not. Come he will, and his name shall be Emancipation. And these three—tax, fight, emancipate—shall be the trinity of our salvation. In this sign we shall conquer."

This was the first announcement in Congress of the necessity of Emancipation to the success of the war. Gurowski says in his "Diary" that it was the key-note of the Thirty-seventh Congress,

Mr. Pike voted with the ultra anti-slavery men on all occasions; and when the great anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution was pending, in January, 1865, he said:

"When, something more than a quarter of a century ago, just commencing active life, I made myself conspicuous in a limited sphere by attacking Slavery, I had no expectation of taking part here and now in the grand consummation of its utter demolition."

After arguing the constitutional points, he closed: "Let the amendment be adopted, and slavery be destroyed, and hereafter the only contest upon the subject will be, Who did the most to bring about this consummation so devoutly wished for by all good men. The earlier anti-slavery men shall have their full meed of praise. They did well. They brought the wrongs inherent in the institution to the attention of the people of the country. They would not be put down at the bidding of the imperious advocates of the system. But slavery flourished under their attacks. It grew rich and strong. It waxed fat. How long it would have lived, God only knows, if it had not injured itself. But it was not content. It destroyed itself. Our Davids were not powerful enough to inflict a mortal blow upon this modern Goliath, and Heaven would have it that the giant wrong of the age should commit suicide.

"And when the genius of history shall write its epitaph on the walls of the great Hereafter, specifying the date of its death, short stay will it make in describing its virtues; but after cataloguing a portion of the great crimes it has committed against mankind, it will add, 'Dead! dead! not of Lloyd Garrison or Wendell Phillips, but dead of Jefferson Davis and the Montgomery Constitution.'

"God speed the day of its burial, for with it, as creator, ends this war of its creation, and liberty and peace shall come hand in hand, and bless the continent with their presence."

Mr. Pike is happy in his domestic life, having married, in 1846, Miss Mary H. Green, a lady of rare endowments of heart and mind. After the experience of a winter in the South, she wrote "*Ida May*," and some other novels, which were received by the public with great


favor. Her mental activity and acquirements have been chiefly displayed, however, in a rare conversational talent, which makes her the charm of the social circle.

In person, Mr. Pike is of medium height, of dark complexion, with black hair and eyes. He is lively and entertaining in conversation, ardent in his friendships, and decided in his dislikes. Proud, sensitive, honorable, and truthful, he possesses all the elements of an original and independent character.



V. B. Egginton

BENJAMIN EGGLESTON.

 BENJAMIN EGGLESTON, the father of the subject of this sketch, served ten years in the war of 1812, as a Captain, under General Winfield Scott. At the close of the war he devoted himself to agricultural pursuits in Saratoga County, New York, where his son, Benjamin Eggleston, the subject of this sketch, was born, January 3, 1816. In 1831, the family emigrated to Ohio, and settled in Athens County. Remaining there one year, they removed to Hocking County, where the elder Eggleston continued to reside, an enterprising farmer, a respected citizen, and a consistent member of the Baptist Church until his death, in 1855.

Soon after settling in the wilds of Hocking County, Mr. Eggleston and his sons took a contract for making rails at thirty-one cents per hundred. When this work was completed, the subject of this sketch, in company with his brother, walked fifty-four miles to the Ohio Canal, six miles below Chillicothe, and worked on "Arthington's job" at thirteen dollars per month. The next summer, notwithstanding the kind admonition of his father that a "rolling stone gathers no moss," he joined the caravan of Gregory and Co., and was assigned to the duty of driving one of the cages, containing the "White Bear." The caravan traveled over nearly all the State, and arrived in Cleveland about the first of October. The Menagerie being now destined for Philadelphia for winter quarters, he determined to accompany it no further.

Inclined toward commercial life by what he observed among the boats and shipping in the harbor of Cleveland, he determined to devote himself to canal-boating. Whereupon, he hired to Capt. Gear

of the canal boat *Oncola*, with whom he made three trips to Fulton, Stark County, for wheat, when the boat was laid up, and the crew discharged. Nothing daunted in his determination to prosecute his new business, he hired to service on the boat *Oswego*, commanded by Captain Ritter of Chillicothe, and made one trip to Massillon, and returned. The Captain was taken sick, and died at Cleveland, kindly attended by Mr. Eggleston to the last. He then hired to Captain Warren of the canal boat *Aurora*, and made one trip to Newark, where the boat was laid up, and the crew discharged. Persevering amid all discouragements in his new pursuit, Mr. Eggleston next hired to Capt. Hull of the *Miami*, on which he continued until it reached New Baltimore, where he left, and reached home the first of December. He had saved about eighty dollars, his father acknowledging that his predictions concerning the "rolling stone" had not been verified. In the spring, Mr. Eggleston returned to Cleveland under a previous engagement with Captain Warren, with whom he remained until the following August, when the proprietors of the Ohio Troy and Erie line having noticed his ability, faithfulness, and industry, promoted him to the command of the boat *Monticello*. He continued aboard this boat till the close of the season, and the next year was tendered his choice of all the boats of that line. The next spring, the proprietors made him their general agent to buy produce in Southern Ohio, and to superintend their boats. He continued in their service until 1845, when he bought an interest in one-half the boats of the line, and took them to the new canal for operation under his sole control. He made his residence in Cincinnati, and established the first successful line of boats from that city to Toledo. After running the boats two years in company with the original proprietors, he purchased their interest, and took his brother as a partner.

In 1851, he sold out his entire interest in the canal line to his brother, and formed partnership with James Wilson, a wealthy commission merchant of Cincinnati, under the style of "Wilson, Eggleston & Co.," one of the largest and most successful business firms in the West.

Mr. Eggleston took an early interest in the municipal affairs of the city, and in 1853 was chosen a member of the City Council. He held the positions of President of the City Council, and Chairman of the Financial Committee. He has taken an active interest in all the public improvements of the city. The citizens of Cincinnati highly appreciated and acknowledged his services in devising a plan to save them from an impending calamity caused by the short supply of fuel in 1857.

At the breaking out of the rebellion, large numbers of volunteers had entered the army, leaving their families destitute in Cincinnati. In 1861, Mr. Eggleston introduced in the City Council a resolution providing for the distribution from the city treasury of \$90,000 among the needy families of soldiers. He personally superintended the distribution of this fund weekly, to the worthy recipients of the relief.

In 1861, Mr. Eggleston was elected a State Senator for the County of Hamilton. He was a member of the Chicago Convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln in 1860, and was one of the Presidential Electors of that year.

In 1864, Mr. Eggleston was elected a Representative from Ohio in the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was re-elected in 1866 to the Fortieth Congress. In October, 1868, he was a candidate for re-election. After a canvass of extraordinary excitement, the official returns indicated his defeat by a majority of two hundred and eleven votes. Evidences of fraud were so numerous as, in the opinion of his friends, to render it the duty of Mr. Eggleston to contest the seat.

In Congress, Mr. Eggleston has been particularly active in promoting the improvement of Western rivers and harbors. He has labored in behalf of those important interests not only by vote and speech on the floor of the House, but by his efforts in the Committee of Commerce, of which he is a member. He has not limited his Congressional labors for the promotion of measures for the advantage of his own city alone. Chicago, St. Louis, and other Western cities have shared in the benefits of important measures proposed by him.

The following extract from a speech on the bill authorizing a railroad bridge over the Ohio River at Paducah, bespeaks the liberal and patriotic views by which he is actuated :

"The bill provides that it shall be fifty feet above high-water mark. What further guarantee do you want against obstruction? I would not vote for a measure to obstruct the Ohio River, or any other navigable river of the United States. It is true, it will be a little inconvenient to the steamboat men; but when we look at the great interest of the Southern trade, as well as the great commercial interest of the whole country, we must expect that one class of the community will have to forego a convenience to accommodate another. I say to Kentucky, that we reach out our hand to meet you with a bridge anywhere where your capitalists propose to build it. We want your trade. If we had had more intercourse with the other side years ago, we might have saved many precious lives. If you wish to build a bridge to reach over into the State of Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois, that will be no more obstruction than I am satisfied this will be, I will vote for it.

"I hope that no gentleman upon this side of the House will vote against this proposition upon political grounds. The interests of the State of Kentucky ought to receive the same consideration that the interests of every other State receive, and when they ask for a bridge at Paducah, to be just like the one at Quincy, Illinois, and when they propose to build it with their own capital, and tell us that they are going to connect their system of railroads with ours, I say, give it to them. We have given the same privilege to the States of Illinois, Virginia, and Ohio; and I say, let us give it to Kentucky. Let us say to the people of Paducah, you shall have a chance to cross over into Illinois by a bridge, and we will not guard it with bayonets either; and we hope and trust you never will guard the bridge at your end in that way; we want to connect our commercial interests with yours, and go hand in hand with you. I hope that gentlemen upon this side of the House will vote for this bill."



C. W. Cogswell

GLENNI W. SCOFIELD.



GLENNI W. SCOFIELD was born in Chautauqua County, New York, March 11, 1817. In early life he had such educational advantages as are usually furnished in the common schools. When about fourteen years of age, he quit school to learn printing, and worked at this trade about three years. At seventeen he went back to his books, and entered upon a course of classical study. In the fall of 1836, he entered Hamilton College, New York, as a Freshman, and graduated from this institution, with fair rank of scholarship, in 1840. The two years immediately following his graduation, he spent in teaching; the first in Fauquier County, Virginia, and the second in McKean County, Pennsylvania. While teaching, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1842, and at once entered upon the practice of his profession at Warren, Pennsylvania, where he has ever since resided.

Except when interrupted by several terms of service in the State Legislature and the National Congress, his whole time has been devoted to his profession. In 1849, he was elected to the Legislature of his State, and re-elected in 1850. While a member of this body, he was esteemed one of its most effective debaters, and was chairman of the Judiciary Committee. His speech on the elective judiciary was quite widely circulated at the time, and attracted considerable attention throughout the State. Although during this term of service in the Legislature he acted with the Democratic party, as he did some years subsequently, he was always an anti-slavery man. During his college life he was a member of an Abolition society formed by a number of

young men in the Institution, and never relinquished his early convictions in hostility to slavery. In accordance with these convictions, and while still acting with the Democratic party, he advocated the Wilmot Proviso, opposed the Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, taking the anti-slavery side of all kindred questions.

When the Republican party was formed in 1856, he immediately severed his old party connections, and in a public address united his political fortunes with the new party of freedom and progress. In the fall of that year he was nominated by the Republicans for the State Senate; and in a district before largely Democratic, was elected by a majority of twelve hundred. He occupied this position three years, and ably sustained the reputation which he had gained as a debater in the lower branch of the Legislature. While in the Senate he introduced and advocated bills to exempt the homestead from sale for debt, and to abrogate the laws excluding witnesses from testifying on account of religious belief. Neither of these bills passed; but Mr. Scofield's speeches in their favor, which were reported and printed, prove that they should have passed. His bills were voted down, but his arguments were not answered. He was more successful in his efforts to procure State aid for the construction of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad. This aid secured the construction of a line of road which has already worked wonders in the development of that large and previously wild and neglected section of the State in which he resided. For a short time in 1861, he was President Judge of the District composed of the Counties of Mercer, Venango, Clarion, and Jefferson, having been appointed by Governor Curtin to fill a vacancy.

In 1862, he was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first. During his term of Congressional service, he has uniformly acted with the Radical Republicans. As a debater, Mr. Scofield has been much admired for his analytical, terse, and logical style. Without striving to be amusing, he not unfrequently enlivens his argument by pungent

satire and humorous illustrations; but the general character of his efforts is that of clear statement and close reasoning. He seems to aim only at conviction. The following extract from a speech delivered in reply to Mr. Brooks of New York, in January, 1865, in the House of Representatives, is a fair specimen of his style of address and power of discussion:

"It has been often said of late that history repeats itself. Of course, it cannot be literally true; but the gentleman reiterates it, and then proceeds to search for the prototype of the terrible drama now being enacted on this continent, and affects to find it in the Revolution of 1776. Having settled this point to his own satisfaction, he proceeds to assign to the living actors their historic parts. The rebels take the position of the colonial revolutionists; the Government of the United States re-enacts the part of George III. and his Ministers; while for himself and the Opposition debaters of this House, he selects the honorable *role* of Chatham, Fox, Burke, and other champions of colonial rights in the British Parliament. Let us examine this. It is true that the colonists rebelled against the Government of Great Britain, and the slaveholders rebelled against the Government of the United States; but here the likeness ends. Between the circumstances that might provoke or justify rebellion in the two cases, there is no resemblance. The Government from which the colonies separated was three thousand miles beyond the seas. They could not even communicate with it in those days in less than two or three months. In that Government they had no representation, and their wants and wishes no authoritative voice. Nor was it the form of government most acceptable to the colonists. They preferred a republic. The rapidly-increasing population and the geographical extent and position of the colonies, demanded nationality. Sooner or later it must come. The tea tax and other trifling grievances only hurried on an event that was sure to occur from the influences of geography and population alone. How is it in these respects with the present rebellion? The Government against which the slaveholders rebelled was not a foreign one: it was as much theirs as ours. They

were fully represented in it. There was scarcely a law—indeed I think there was not a single law upon the statute-book, to which they had not given their assent. It was the Government they helped to make, and it was made as they wanted it. They had ever had their share of control and patronage in it, and more than their share, for they boasted with much truth that cotton was king. Nor is there any geographical reasons in their favor. It is conceded even by the rebels themselves that a division of the territory lying compactly between the Lakes and the Gulf, the Atlantic and the Mississippi, into two nations would be a great misfortune to both. If it were the Pacific States demanding separation, bad as that would be, there would be some sense in it; but for this territory, you cannot even find a dividing line. When you attempt to run one, the rivers and mountains cross your purpose. Both the land and the water oppose division. There is no disunion outside the wicked hearts of these disloyal men. I can see no resemblance, then, between our patriot fathers, who toiled through a seven years' war to establish this beneficent Government, and the traitors who drench the land in blood in an attempt—I trust in God a vain one—to destroy it.

“Again, sir, in what respect do the apologists of the present rebellion in this House resemble the advocates of our great Revolution in the British Parliament? Conceding they are their equals in statesmanship, learning, eloquence, and wit, I submit that they fall far below them in the merit of their respective causes. Chatham defended the cause of the colonists as set forth in the Declaration of Independence that ‘all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;’ the honorable gentleman from New York pleads for slavery, the auction block, the coffin, the lash. With slavery he cures all national troubles. He begs for harmony among ourselves. How shall we be united? ‘Restore slavery,’ says he. He is opposed to war. How, then, shall rebels in arms be subdued? ‘Revive the traffic in blood.’ He is opposed to taxes. How, then, shall our exhausted Treasury be replenished? ‘Raise more children for the mar-

ket.' Slavery, more slavery, still more slavery, is the only prescription of the Opposition doctors.

"There is another party that figures largely in the history of the revolutionary struggle that the gentleman entirely omitted to name. He gave them no place in his cast of parts. The omission may be attributed to either modesty or forgetfulness. Prior to the Revolution, the members of this party had filled all the places of honor and profit in the colonies; and when the war came, they heartily espoused the cause of the king, though they did not generally join his armies. Their principal business was to magnify disaster, depreciate success, denounce the currency, complain of the taxes, and denounce and dodge arbitrary arrests. To the patriot cause they were ever prophets of evil. Failure was their word. The past was a failure, the future would be. In the beginning of the war this party was in the majority in some of the colonies, and constituted a large minority in all; but as the war progressed, their numbers constantly diminished. Many of the leaders were from time to time sent beyond the "lines," and their estates confiscated. Most of these settled in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, right handy to the place where the gentleman informs us he was born. The members of this party were called Tories; and if this war is but a repetition of the war of the Revolution, as the gentleman intimates, who are their present representatives?

"Again exclaims the gentleman: 'You cannot subjugate eight million people.' I know not which most to condemn in this expression (I speak it of course without personal application), its insinuation of falsehood or its confession of cowardice. The United States does not propose to subjugate any portion of its people, but only to exact obedience to law from all. It is this misrepresentation of the purpose of the Government that still keeps alive the dying flames of the rebellion. I can go further with perfect truth, and say it was this misrepresentation that lighted those flames at the first. The slaveholders were told that it was the purpose of this Administration to destroy their personal and political rights: next, they were

reminded that they were proud, brave, chivalric men, and then tauntingly asked if they were going to submit. They were thus fairly coaxed and goaded into rebellion. Except for this misrepresentation, the Union people would have been in a large majority in all the slave States; and despite it, they are in a majority in more than half of them to-day, if they could be heard. But they are gagged, bound hand and foot, by a despotism so cruel and so mean, so thorough and so efficient, that even the gentleman from New York has no fault to find with it. The country is too much engaged now with the immediate actors in the drama, to look behind the scenes for the authors and prompters of the play. But when these actors have disappeared from the stage, gone down to graves never to be honored, or wandering among strangers never to be loved; in the peaceful future, when inquisition shall be made for the contrivers, instigators, aiders, and abettors of this great crime, the two classes so often coupled in denunciation in this hall, the Abolitionists of the North and the fire-eaters of the South, will be scarcely noticed; but the quiet historian will 'point his slow, unmoving finger' at those Northern leaders, who for fifteen years have deceived the South and betrayed the North. They will stand alone. The large minority that now gathers around them, moved thereto more in hopes to escape the severe hardships of the war, than from any love of them or their position, will have melted away from their support like dissolving ice beneath their feet; and well will it be for their posterity if they can manage them, like Byron's wrecks, to sink into the

'Depths with bubbling groan,
Without a grave, unknelled, and unknown.'

"Subjugate the South! No, sir. It is the purpose as it is the duty of the Government to liberate the South, to drive out the usurpers, and to restore to the deluded and betrayed masses the blessings of a free Republic."



R. P. Spalding

RUFUS P. SPALDING.



AMONG the older members of the Fortieth Congress, and one who retains the physical and intellectual vigor of middle age, is Rufus Paine Spalding, of Cleveland, Ohio, who has, for six consecutive years, represented the Eighteenth Congressional District of that State.

He was born on the 3d day of May, 1798, at West Tisbury, on the Island of Martha's Vineyard, in the State of Massachusetts, where his father, Dr. Rufus Spalding, resided and practiced medicine for twenty years. He traces back his ancestry two hundred and twenty-eight years in a direct line to Edward Spalding, who was "made a Freeman" at Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1640. Benjamin Spalding, the son of Edward, migrated to Connecticut about the year 1665, and settled in the town of Plainfield, in the County of Windham. Dr. Rufus Spalding, the father of the subject of this sketch, was the great grandson of Benjamin Spalding, who thus settled in Connecticut.

In the spring of the year 1812, Dr. Spalding returned with his family to Connecticut, and took up his abode in the city of Norwich. After the usual preparatory studies, his son Rufus P. Spalding entered Yale College; and in the autumn of 1817, received from that institution the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Among the members of his class in college were Rt. Rev. Wm. H. De Lancy, Bishop of Western New York; Dr. Nathan R. Smith, of Baltimore; Prof. Lyman Coleman, of Easton, Pa.; Hon. Charles J. McCurdy, at one time Minister to Austria, and now a Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut; Hon. Thomas B. Osborne, and Hon. Thomas T. Whittlesey, ex-members of Congress from Connecticut; Sam'l H. Per

kins and Joel Jones, Esquires, eminent lawyers of Philadelphia; J. Prescott Hall, Esq., U. S. District Attorney for New York, and others who also became distinguished for usefulness in life.

Immediately on leaving college, Mr. Spalding commenced the study of the law with Hon. Zephaniah Swift, the learned author of the "Digest," who was then Chief-Justice of Connecticut.

After reading the usual time, and receiving from his instructor the most flattering testimonials of his qualifications, he, like very many of the energetic young men of New England, made his way to the West; and after encountering various fortunes incident to a frontier settlement, he found himself in December, 1819, at the old "Post of Arkansas," and shortly afterwards at "Little Rock," in the practice of law, in co-partnership with Samuel Dinsmoor, Esq., since Governor of New Hampshire.

He remained in this new Territory until June, 1821, when he retraced his steps eastward, and was finally induced to throw out his sign as an "Attorney at Law" in the pleasant village of Warren, the shire town of Trumbull County, Ohio.

In October, 1822, he was married to Lucretia A. Swift, the eldest daughter of the gentleman with whom he had studied his profession. Seven children, three sons and four daughters, were the offspring of this marriage, only three of whom now survive. They are Col. Zeph. S. Spalding, now United States Consul at Honolulu, Lt. Captain George S. Spalding, First Lieutenant 33d U. S. Infantry, and Mrs. Lucretia McIlrath, the wife of Charles McIlrath, Esq., of St. Paul, Minnesota. In January, 1859, Judge Spalding was married to his present wife, the eldest daughter of Dr. Wm. S. Pierson, of Windsor, Conn.

After a residence of more than sixteen years in Warren, Mr. Spalding removed to Ravenna, in the County of Portage. In the fall of 1839, he was chosen by a majority of *one vote* over his opponent, to represent the people of Portage County in the General Assembly of Ohio. The Legislature, mainly through the active exertions of Mr. Spalding, passed an act at this session, erecting the

new County of Summit, of which he soon became an inhabitant by transferring his residence to Akron, the county seat.

In 1841-2, he was again a member of the Legislature, as a representative from the new county. At this time he was chosen Speaker of the House, and became justly popular as an able and successful presiding officer. In conjunction with the late Governor John Branch, then Auditor of State, he took strong ground against the effort, then being made, to repudiate the public debt of Ohio, and, by his personal influence, did much to prevent the disastrous consequences which must always attach to such pernicious legislation.

In the winter of 1848-9, Mr. Spalding was elected, by joint vote of the two Houses of the General Assembly, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, for the constitutional term of seven years, of which he served, however, but three years, as the new Constitution, then adopted, re-organized the Judiciary, and Judge Spalding declined being a candidate in the popular canvass that followed.

The following extract from a letter written to the author, by Hon. William Lawrence, M. C., who was the Reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio during all the time Judge Spalding was upon the Bench, will serve to show his qualifications for that high trust :

"The judicial services of Judge Spalding commenced March 7, 1849, and ended February 1, 1852. He brought to the exalted position the force of a vigorous and cultivated intellect, imbued with a profound knowledge of the law, and enriched with classical attainments of no ordinary character. His opinions will be found in volumes 18, 19, and 20 of the Ohio Reports; and it is, at least, no disparagement to others to say, that Judge Spalding has never had a superior on the Bench of the State. His opinions are remarkable specimens of judicial literature, distinguished for the force of their logic, their terse, clear, emphatic style, and a precision of expression unsurpassed even by the learned English judges whose decisions are found in the celebrated Reports of Durnford and East.

"The generous nature and urbane deportment of Judge Spalding

was such that he enjoyed the profound respect and esteem of the Bar, and all with whom he was associated, as the writer of this has abundant means of knowing."

On retiring from the Bench, Judge Spalding removed to the city of Cleveland, where he at once entered upon a lucrative business in the practice of his profession. As an advocate and counselor he maintained the highest rank in his State.

In politics, the Judge was an active and devoted member of the Democratic party, from the days of Andrew Jackson until the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, when he threw all his energy and influence into the ranks of the "Free-Soil" or "Anti-Slavery" party.

He was a member of the Convention at Pittsburg, in February, 1852; and it was on his motion that John P. Hale was nominated for the Presidency. He was again a member of the Pittsburg Convention of 1856, which originated the Republican party; and he was, the same year, one of the delegates at large from the State of Ohio, to the National Convention in Philadelphia, which nominated John C. Fremont. In May, 1868, he was a delegate to the Convention in Chicago, which nominated General U. S. Grant for President.

In October, 1862, Judge Spalding was chosen to represent the Eighteenth Congressional District, made up of the Counties of Cuyahoga, Lake, and Summit, in the Congress of the United States. He was re-elected in October, 1864, and again in October, 1866, so that he served in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, and Fortieth Congresses. In the spring of 1868, he addressed a letter to his constituents, declining to be again a candidate.

In the Thirty-eighth Congress he was a member of the Standing Committee on Naval Affairs, the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions, and served as Chairman on the Select Committee on the Bankrupt Law.

In the Thirty-ninth Congress he was made a member of the Standing Committee on Appropriations, and continued to serve on the Committee on Bankruptcy, of which Mr. Jenckes was then Chairman.

Soon after the opening of the first session of this Congress, Mr. Spalding made a speech in which he indicated the measures which he regarded as necessary to be adopted in order to reconstruct the rebel States. The suggestions then made were for the most part afterwards adopted by Congress. The military features of the Reconstruction Acts originated in an amendment offered by Mr. Spalding to Mr. Stevens' first bill.

In the Fortieth Congress he was placed on the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the United States, and upon the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress. He took an important part in the investigation and discussion of the financial questions which enlisted the attention of this Congress. In May, 1868, he delivered in the House of Representatives a speech on "The Political and Financial Condition of the Country," from which we make an extract from his able argument, showing the unconstitutionality of Legal Tenders:

"It is my purpose to show that this cherished plan of paying off the interest-bearing bonds of the Government with the United States 'legal-tender' notes, has no warrant in the Constitution of the United States, in the act of Congress of February 25, 1862, which first authorized their issue; neither is it justified by the plainest principles of political economy, or the soundest precepts of common sense.

"In the first place, I meet the whole question 'without gloves,' and affirm that there exists no constitutional power in the Congress of the United States to make paper money a 'legal tender' in payment of debts. I admit that under the pressure of extreme necessity, and in order to save the life of the nation, Congress did, in the darkest hours of the rebellion, assume the right to impress on a limited amount of Treasury notes the quality of a 'legal tender.' And I admit that this extreme measure was justified by the extraordinary circumstances under which it was adopted, and that, under like circumstances, I should not hesitate to repeat the experiment; but I can yield nothing further. A measure of national defense under the weighty pressure of war that brings a strain upon the Constitution of the country, is

not to be continued, much less extended, as a principle of financial policy in times of peace, without seriously endangering the whole framework of our Government.

"The wise men who, in 1787, constructed the great charter of our national rights, had experimental knowledge of the pernicious tendencies of an irredeemable paper currency; for in the year 1780, paper money issued to carry on the war of the Revolution had depreciated to such an extent that in the city of Philadelphia it was sold a hundred dollars in paper for one in silver. Hence it will be found that in framing the Constitution, they sought in every possible way to guard against the evils incident to a circulating medium made up of 'paper promises.'"

After citing the debates in the Convention which formed the Constitution, and the authority of its ablest expounders, Mr. Spalding remarked:

"It was reserved for the Thirty-seventh Congress of the United States to assert and exert a power, so obviously opposed to the wishes of the framers of the Constitution, to the letter and spirit of the instrument itself, and to its practical construction for three-fourths of a century. But it was exerted in the darkest hour of the nation's conflict with treason and rebellion. It was exerted *ex necessitate*, to save the life of our glorious Republic. * * *


"Mr Chairman, I now solemnly aver that if I had been a member of the Thirty-seventh Congress, I would have voted under the pressure of circumstances for the passage of the act entitled 'An act to authorize the issue of United States notes, and for the redemption or funding thereof, and for the funding of the floating debt of the United States,' approved February 25, 1862. And I affirm just as solemnly, that at no time since the surrender of Lee's army would I have felt justified in repeating that vote."

Mr. Spalding's career in Congress has been that of a wise and patriotic legislator, eminently useful to the country, and highly honorable to himself. His name is associated with all the important legislation relative to the war of the rebellion and its results.



J. M. Drummond,

JOHN M. BROOMALL.

HE ancestors of the subject of this sketch were Quakers, who emigrated from England among the early settlers of Pennsylvania. John M. Broomall was born in Upper Chichester, Delaware County, Pa., January 19, 1816. He received a classical and mathematical education in the select schools of the Society of Friends.

Mr. Broomall studied law, and practiced in his native county with success for twenty years. In politics he was in early life a Whig, and cast his first presidential vote, in 1840, for General Harrison.

Embracing the anti-slavery principles of the Society in which he was born, he opposed at the polls, in 1838, the adoption of the new constitution of Pennsylvania, which disfranchised the blacks. His subsequent votes, whether as a citizen or a Representative, have all been consistent with the one given on that occasion.

In 1851 and 1852, he served as a Representative in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and was a member of the State Revenue Board in 1854. Two years later he attached himself to the Republican party. In 1860, he was a delegate to the Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln, and was chosen a Presidential Elector in the election which followed.

In 1862, he was elected a Representative in Congress from the Seventh Pennsylvania District. In 1864, and in 1866, he was re-elected. In 1868, he declined to be again a candidate, on account of the state of his health, and the condition of his private affairs.

He served on the Committees of Accounts and Public Expenditures, of the first of which he was Chairman during the Fortieth

Congress. During his entire Congressional service, Mr. Broomall has been counted among the extreme Radicals. Upon financial questions he always opposed the expansion of the currency, and advocated contraction as a means to the resumption of specie payments.

During Mr. Broomall's service in Congress he made a number of able and important speeches. On the 18th of March, 1868, he addressed the House on "The power and duty of the United States to guarantee to every State a republican form of government." In the course of this speech, he remarked :

"If the majority may lawfully disfranchise the minority on account of race or lineage, then may the citizens of South Carolina of African descent limit the elective franchise to themselves, to the exclusion of their white fellow-citizens. If in the form of government now being constituted there, such a limitation should be placed, who in this Hall or in the country would maintain that the Government is republican? Not a single vote could be obtained in either House of Congress for the admission of a State with such a constitution. Now, if it is not republican in South Carolina, where black men are in the majority, to limit the suffrage to black men, with what consistency shall we maintain that it is republican in Ohio, where white men are in the majority, to limit the suffrage to white men? Let us beware how we advocate the doctrine that the minority may be lawfully disfranchised on account of lineage, lest that doctrine be turned against ourselves, and lest for very shame we be obliged to submit."

Further on he said: "But I am told that this right to disfranchise on account of race is not the absolute right of the majority; that its operation is limited to the black race; that this is a white man's Government; that all white men of all races have equal rights, and that black men and red men have no rights whatever except by the grace and favor of the white men.

"The title of the white man to the country, at least as against the red man, will not bear very nice inspection. It has at best no higher foundation than that of present occupancy; and if we rest it upon

present occupancy, it is certainly no better than that of the black man. If cultivating, if defending the soil, mingling with it one's sweat and blood, gives title to it, then indeed is the black man's right quite as good as ours.

"Let me inquire at what period of our country's history the Government became exclusively that of the white man? The negro has always owed allegiance to it. He has always been capable of committing treason against it. He has always been subject to its laws. His property has always been taxed for its support. He fought for its establishment. He fought for its preservation during the recent dark and bloody period, and that, too, when those who deny him all participation in it were seeking or conniving at its overthrow.

"Besides all this, the negro aided in the formation of our present 'more perfect Union.' He was a voter in all or nearly all the States at the time. His representatives, as well as ours, said for him, as well as for us: 'We, the people of the United States,' 'ordain and establish this Constitution.' It is strange, indeed, if the Government is not the Government of all who created it, who are subject to its laws, who owe it allegiance, and more than all, who can be compelled to fight for its preservation.

"During the earlier years of the war, when our political opponents had at length reluctantly conceded that the rebellion should be put down if it could be done gently, and without hurting anybody, they opposed the arming of the blacks; they maintained truly that doing this would be acknowledging that the Government is theirs as well as ours; but when the business became serious, when the draft came, they, as well as we, refused to exempt the black man. Now, I accept the Democratic doctrine. Nothing can be more sound than this proposition: none but white men should have been called upon to fight for a white man's government. Every Democrat who procured a black substitute, every one who was saved from the draft by the drafted black man, every American citizen who now enjoys the blessings of a preserved Government, is estopped from claiming exclusive property in it as against those who fought to sustain it."


In conclusion, Mr. Broomall remarked: "Republicanism, though in strict accord with the best interests of the masses of men, has its foundation in far nobler considerations—the internal principles of truth and justice, the equality of man in the sight of his Maker. The little mind, proud always in proportion to its littleness, moving in its microscopic circle, wraps itself up in its petty bundle of selfish interests, and thinks that it, its household, its family, its race, constitutes the one sole end and aim of the Almighty's care. Such a mind rejects with scorn everything that does not square with its own little measure. To it the parable of the good Samaritan is wholly unintelligible; and if it dared, it would accuse the Author of that parable of 'sickly sentimentality,' because he taught that human rights and duties are not circumscribed by the boundaries of race or nation. To such a mind the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, first taught on the mountain in Judea, is as utterly meaningless as would be a dissertation on music to the deaf, or a description of the rainbow to the blind.

"In conclusion, permit me to say, let there be no war of races in America; and to guard against such a calamity, let every man accord to his neighbor that just share in the conducting of public affairs which he claims for himself. Above all, let us not load down the weak, the poor, and the ignorant with political disabilities. Surely we have advantages enough in the race of life which God has placed before us all, without making them bear the burden. Let all who are asked to obey the laws have an equal voice in making them. Let all the rivaling interests of humanity be equally represented in the common Government. Then will that great distinguishing characteristic of American society, the general diffusion of wealth and knowledge, be increased and perpetuated, making us an example of justice and prosperity to the world."



Shooper

SAMUEL HOOPER.

AMUEL HOOPER was born on the 3d of February, 1808, at Marblehead, a seaport town in Massachusetts, about fifteen miles from Boston. The people of Marblehead at the time of Mr. Hooper's birth and early life there, were bold and hardy fishermen, largely engaged in the cod-fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and having considerable business relations and intercourse with the West Indies, Russia, and Spain. They sent their fish to the West Indies for sale, and bought sugars with the proceeds, which they carried thence in their ships to Russia, bringing home in return iron, hemp, and other products of that country. They also shipped large quantities of fish to Spain, and sold them there for doubloons, which they brought back to this country. Mr. Hooper's father was largely engaged in the European and West Indian trade; and, as his agent, Mr. Hooper in early life visited more than once Russia and the West Indies, and passed a whole season in Spain.

In 1833, he became a junior partner in the firm of Bryant, Sturgis & Co., at that time one of the leading houses in Boston, conducting extensive enterprises on the Western coast of this Continent and in China, sending their vessels to California (it was nearly twenty years before the gold discoveries there) for hides, which were then the great export of that cattle-grazing region, to the Northwest coast for furs, and to China for teas and silks. In this firm Mr. Hooper continued for about ten years, and until its senior members, whose names it had long borne, and who had grown gray in honorable mercantile pursuits, wished to retire from active business. He then became a member of another large house engaged in the China trade, and remained in that business for many years.

During the period of his active business life, however, foreign commerce did not alone engage or absorb his interests or his energies. He became early interested in the development of our domestic resources, and embarked both time and capital in the iron business, to the understanding of which and of the true interests of this branch of industry in this country, he gave much attention. The subject of currency and finance early interested him, both as a theoretical question, and as a practical matter affecting the real prosperity and substantial growth of the country. In the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts, in the years 1851, '52 and '53, and subsequently in the State Senate of that State in 1858, he distinguished himself by the interest he took in the subject of banking and finance, by the knowledge he displayed upon it, and by the judicious and thoughtful measures which he introduced to check the evils of our unstable currency, and to establish on an impregnable basis the banks then existing in Massachusetts under State charters. During this period he wrote and published two pamphlets on currency or money and bank notes, which are full of sound thought and clear statement, and are remarkable for their broad, thorough, and comprehensive views of the whole subject.

In the summer of 1861, he was elected from Boston to the Thirty-seventh Congress, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. William Appleton. Possessing at this time a commercial experience and knowledge, the result of extensive transactions in foreign commerce for more than a quarter of a century with all parts of the globe, and of active, if less extensive, operations at home, and a very clear and thorough understanding of that great mystery of finance and money as applied both to public and private affairs, the fruit of much study, reading, and sagacious and patient observation for an equally long period, and being thoroughly in sympathy with the Administration, and earnest in devising the best means for enabling the Government to obtain the funds necessary for the prosecution of the war, on the one hand, and the people to bear the heavy burden it entailed on the other, Mr. Hooper became at once a trusted adviser of the

Treasury Department, and a most useful and indefatigable member of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives.

An extract from a letter of Mr. Chief-Justice Chase to the author, will serve to show his appreciation of Mr. Hooper's patriotism and public services during the critical period when Mr. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury :

" WASHINGTON, Jan. 2, 1862.

" My impressions of Mr. Hooper, until April, 1861, were derived almost wholly from the opinions of others. These gave me great confidence in his sagacity, integrity, and patriotism.

" I do not now recollect where our personal acquaintance commenced ; but it was, I think, not long before the 6th of April, 1861. I then advertised for proposals for a loan of \$14,901,000 in money (coin) in exchange for Treasury notes. The proposals were to be opened five days afterward, on the 11th.

" This was at a time of great anxiety and depression. Before the day for opening the proposals arrived, the expeditions for the reinforcement of Pickens and the provisionment of Sumter had already sailed ; and on that day, the correspondence between Beauregard, commanding the rebels, and Anderson, commanding the Fort, was going on, in reference to the surrender of Sumter. The next day the rebel batteries opened fire.

" No time could be more unpropitious to the negotiation of a loan. Yet the advertisement could not be withdrawn without serious injury to the public credit ; and a failure to obtain the amount advertised for, would have had, perhaps, at that particular juncture, a still worse effect.

" Mr. Hooper happened to be in Washington, and was a subscriber for \$100,000. On opening the proposals I found that the offers fell short of the amount required, by about a million of dollars. I sent for Mr. Hooper, then personally almost a stranger to me, and asked him to take that sum, in addition to what he had before subscribed, assuring him he should be protected from loss in the event of his

being unable to distribute the amount in Boston. He complied with my request without hesitation, and disposed of the whole amount without any aid from the Treasury. His readiness to come to the aid of the Government at the critical moment, and the personal confidence he shared in me, made an impression on my mind which cannot be obliterated. The sum does not now seem large, but it was large then, and the responsibility was assumed when most men would have shrunk from it.

"On another and even more important occasion, my obligations to Mr. Hooper for support and co-operation, were still greater.

"Very few months had passed, after I took charge of the Department, before I became fully satisfied that the best interests of the people, future as well as immediate, in peace as well as in war, demanded a complete revolution in currency by the substitution of notes, uniform in form and in credit-value, issued under the authority of the nation, for notes varying in both respects issued under State authority, and I suggested to different financial gentlemen the plan of a National Banking System. The suggestion was not received with favor, or anything like favor.

"But my conviction of the necessity of some such measure, both to the successful management of the finances during the war, and to the prevention of disastrous convulsions on the return of peace, was so strong, that I determined to bring the subject to the attention of Congress.

"In my report on the finances submitted on the 9th of December, 1861, I therefore recommended the adoption of a National Banking System, upon principles and under restrictions explained partly in the report, and more fully in the Bill drawn up under my direction, and either sent to the Committee of Ways and Means, or handed to one of its members—perhaps to Mr. Hooper himself. However the bill may have gone to the Committee, I am not mistaken, I think, in saying that Mr. Hooper was the only member who gave it any support. I am pretty sure that the only favor shown it by the Committee was a permission to Mr. Hooper to report it without recom-

menation, on his own responsibility. He took that responsibility, and the Bill was reported and printed.

"No action was asked upon it at that session. If action had been asked, it is not improbable that it would have been rejected with very few dissenting votes—so powerful then was the influence of the State Banks, so reluctant were they to accept the new measure, and so strong was the general sentiment of the Members of Congress against it.

"Before the next session, a strong public opinion, in favor of a uniform currency for the whole country, and of the National Banking System as a means of accomplishing that object, had developed itself; and Mr. Hooper found himself able to carry the measure through the House of Representatives. It still encountered a formidable opposition in the Senate, and I well remember the personal appeals I was obliged to make to Senators, as I had already to Representatives, in order to overcome their objections.

"The Bill found a powerful and judicious friend in Mr. Sherman, and at length passed by a clear vote. It was approved by Mr. Lincoln, who had steadily supported it from the beginning, on the 25th of February, 1863.

"I think I cannot err in ascribing the success of the measure in the House to the sound judgment, persevering exertions, and disinterested patriotism of Mr. Hooper. The results of the measure during the war fulfilled, and since the war have justified the expectations I formed. It received valuable amendments in both Houses of Congress before its enactment, and has since been further amended; and is, I think, still capable of beneficial modification in points of much importance to the public interests.

"But this is not the place nor the occasion for a discussion of this matter; all that you desire is my estimate of the services of Mr. Hooper. I have mentioned only the two principal occasions on which I was specially indebted to him; but they were by no means the only occasions in which he aided me, or rather the Department of the Government of which I then had charge, both by personal counsel and by Congressional support.

"During the whole time I was at the head of the Treasury, I constantly felt the great benefit of his wise and energetic co-operation. It would be unjust, saying this of Mr. Hooper, not to say that there were others in and out of Congress, to whom in other financial relations the Treasury Department and the country were very greatly indebted; but it is simple duty to add that the timely aid which he rendered at the crisis of the loan of April, 1861, and in promoting the enactment of the National Banking Law, placed me, charged as I was with a most responsible and difficult task, under special obligations which I can never forget, and shall always take pleasure in acknowledging.

"With great respect, yours very truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

In accepting a re-nomination for the third time in the autumn of 1866, Mr. Hooper announced to his constituents his intention of retiring from Congress at the end of that term; and in the spring of 1868, he re-affirmed the same intention in a formal and decided letter to the people of his district, in which he thanked them most cordially for their continued support of him; but his constituents would take no refusal. They insisted upon his reconsidering the matter. He was unanimously nominated, and for the fifth time was elected to Congress after a sharp contest in a very close district, by a majority of nearly three thousand votes.

More accustomed to writing than to public speaking, Mr. Hooper has not been in Congress a frequent or lengthy speaker; but whenever he has spoken, he has commanded the attention of the House. His speeches have all been distinguished by a thorough understanding of the subject matter, by vigorous and comprehensive thought, exact logic, and clear and forcible statements. They have been mostly on financial questions, and have attracted the attention and received the approval of the sound thinkers and of the public press, both in this country and in Europe.



Wm Lawrence

WILLIAM LAWRENCE.



the Congressional Library at Washington is a "Historical Genealogy of the Lawrence family, from their first landing in this country, A.D. 1635, to July 4, 1858, by Thomas Lawrence, of Providence, Rhode Island." The author of this work says: "The patronymic of our family is of great antiquity, having originated with the Latins. Several members of the family of Lawrence have held, and still hold, responsible and distinguished stations, as well in the church and civil service as in the army and navy of the British Empire; and many branches, also, have intermarried with the clergy and nobility. Sir Robert Lawrence accompanied Richard Cœur-de-Lion in his famous expedition to Palestine, where he signalized himself in the memorable siege of St. Jean d'Acre in 1119, by being the first to plant the banner of the cross on the battlements of that town, for which he received the honors of knighthood from King Richard, and also a coat of arms." In 1635, two brothers, and in 1636, another brother of these English Lawrences, came to this country and settled on Long Island. These are the ancestors of the Lawrences of the United States.

Some of the descendants of these at an early day purchased a tract of land on the Delaware River, near Philadelphia. Embarking in commercial transactions, they lost their landed estate. One of these married a French lady, and had a numerous offspring, among whom was David Lawrence, who died near Philadelphia, in 1805, leaving several children with no estate. One of these was Joseph Lawrence, who, after learning the trade of a blacksmith, enlisted in the Philadelphia Guards, and served during the war of 1812. On the restoration of

peace he removed to Ohio, where he married Temperance Gilchrist, a native of Virginia, a lady of exemplary piety and many virtues.

Of these parents, the only surviving son is William Lawrence, who was born at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio, June 26, 1820. William was permitted to spend a portion of his early years in attendance on the country school; but the intervals, which were numerous and prolonged, were occupied in assisting his father, who was pursuing the double avocation of farmer and mechanic.

In the autumn of 1833, he was placed under the instruction of Rev. John C. Tidball, who had recently opened a classical seminary near Steubenville, Ohio. Under this gentleman, who was an accomplished scholar, he made rapid proficiency, and laid the foundation of a fine classical education.

He remained a student in the Seminary until the spring of 1819, when his father procured for him the position of a merchant's clerk. In this pursuit he acquired business habits which have contributed largely to his success.

Young Lawrence did not long remain a clerk in the village store. A brilliant display of forensic eloquence, which it was his good fortune to hear, turned his attention toward another profession, and he resolved to become a lawyer. With difficulty the consent of his father was obtained to this change of plans. That he might lay a foundation sufficiently broad and deep for a superstructure of professional eminence, young Lawrence resolved to prosecute further his classical and literary education. He accordingly enrolled himself as a student in Franklin College, at New Athens, Ohio, in the autumn of 1836. He accomplished the collegiate course in a very short time, and was graduated in the fall of 1838, with the highest honors of the institution.

Mr. Lawrence immediately proceeded to Morgan County, Ohio, where he commenced the study of law under James L. Gage, Esq., then the oldest and ablest member of the McConnellsville bar. During the following winter and the succeeding summer, he taught a district school. At the same time he pursued his study of the law, and acquired considerable local fame by the success with which he con-

ducted cases before "the dignitaries who presided on the township bench."

In the autumn of 1839, Mr. Lawrence became a student of law in the Law Department of the Cincinnati College, where he enjoyed the instruction of Hon. Timothy Walker, author of the "Introduction to American Law." He applied himself with great intensity to his duties, devoting no less than sixteen hours each day to study, and the exercises of the lecture-room. He graduated with the degree of L.B. in March, 1840; but not yet having reached majority, he was compelled to defer making application for admission to the bar.

In the memorable political campaign of 1840, he engaged with ardor in advocating the election of Harrison to the Presidency. He spent the winter of 1840-41 at Columbus, in attendance on the Ohio Legislature, occupied in reporting its proceedings for the *Ohio State Journal*. By strict attention to the rules and proceedings of that body, he acquired an accurate knowledge of the details of legislation, which has made him a skillful parliamentary tactician.

In the summer of 1841, Mr. Lawrence located in Bellefontaine, Ohio, where he formed a professional partnership with Hon. Benjamin Stanton. He soon acquired reputation for great skill in the details of professional business, promptness in the discharge of his duties, and accuracy in his knowledge of the principles of law.

In 1842, he was appointed Commissioner of Bankrupts for Logan County. In 1845, he was elected Prosecuting Attorney for Logan County, which office he resigned in 1846, on being nominated as a candidate for representative in the legislature. He was proprietor of the *Logan Gazette* from March, 1845, to September, 1847, and was for several months editor of that paper.

In 1846, he was elected a member of the legislature, and was re-elected in the following year. In 1849, he was elected a member of the Ohio Senate for the term ending in 1851. At the close of his Senatorial term he was elected, by the legislature, Reporter for the Supreme Court, and reported the twentieth volume of Ohio Reports.

In 1852, he was on the Whig electoral ticket advocating the election of General Scott to the Presidency. In 1854 and 1855, he was again a member of the Senate of Ohio. As a member of the legislature in both its branches, Mr. Lawrence did great service to the State. He took a leading part in legislation as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, of the Committee on Railroads and Turnpikes, on the Penitentiary and on Public Printing. At the session of 1846-7, he introduced a bill to quiet land titles, which was contested at every session until it was adopted in 1849. It was of vast importance to the real-estate interests of Ohio, and is familiarly known as "Lawrence's Law." At the session of 1847-8, he took the lead, as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, against legislative divorces, in a lengthy argument, report, and protest against their constitutionality. The Supreme Court afterwards recognized this view; and the Constitution of Ohio, adopted in 1851, prohibits the granting of divorces by the legislature.

At the session of 1850-51, he made a Report in favor of a Reform School for the correction of juvenile offenders—a measure which was finally adopted. He is the author of the Ohio Free-Banking Law, framed at the same session—the best system of State banking ever devised, embodying many of the features of the existing Banking Law of Congress.

In 1856, he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the Third Judicial District, for the term of five years. He was re-elected in 1861, and held the office until his resignation in 1864. The decisions of Judge Lawrence, published in the "Boston Law Reporter," the "Cleveland Western Law Monthly," of which he was one of the editors, the "Cincinnati Weekly Law Gazette," and the "Pittsburg Legal Journal," would, if collected, make a large volume of Reports.

In 1862, he was appointed, by Governor Todd, Colonel of the Eighty-fourth Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, mustered into the service for three months, and served with his regiment mainly under General B. F. Kelley at Cumberland and New Creek.

Subsequently to his retirement from the bench, Judge Lawrence has occupied himself, in the intervals of business, in the preparation of a work on the Ohio Civil Code, and an elementary treatise on the Law of Interest and Usury.

In 1863, President Lincoln gave him, unsolicited, the appointment of Judge of the United States District Court for Florida, which he declined to accept. In October, 1864, he was elected a Representative in the Thirty-ninth Congress, from the Fourth District of Ohio. In 1866 and in 1868 he was re-elected.

No member of Congress has more earnestly advocated the homestead policy, and the duty of the Government to actual settlers on the public lands, than Judge Lawrence. A practice had grown up by which the President and Senate, by treaties with the Indian tribes, had disposed of large bodies of public lands to corporations and speculators. In June, 1868, a treaty was concluded with the Osage Indians, by which 8,000,000 acres were about to be sold at twenty cents an acre. Judge Lawrence was the first in Congress, or elsewhere, to denounce these treaties as unconstitutional and impolitic, as he did in his speech of March 21, 1868. His views were subsequently sustained by the House of Representatives, June 3, 1868, by the passage of a joint resolution declaring that no patents should issue for lands so sold; June 18, 1868, by the passage of a resolution unanimously affirming that sales of public lands "are not within the treaty-making power;" and June 26, 1868, by a joint resolution requiring all public lands to be disposed of in pursuance of law.

For several years prior to 1868, Congress had been making large grants of public lands in aid of railways and other public improvements, without any provision securing the land to actual settlers. On the 20th of January, 1868, Judge Lawrence introduced in Congress a bill providing that all land thereafter granted to aid public work, whether under existing laws or those afterwards enacted, should be sold only to actual settlers at a limited price, the object being to event a monopoly, and secure the settlement of the lands. The platform of the National Convention of the two great political

parties of the country in this year, substantially indorsed this policy. During the first session of the Fortieth Congress, Judge Lawrence made several speeches on national affairs. One of his principal works was the preparation of a brief, embracing all the authorities upon the law of impeachable crimes and misdemeanors. He has given the following definition of an impeachable high crime and misdemeanor, which will hereafter have the authority of law in American practice :

“An impeachable high crime or misdemeanor is one in its nature or consequences subversive of some fundamental or essential principle of government, or highly prejudicial to the public interest, and this may consist of a violation of the Constitution, of law, of an official oath, or of duty, by an act committed or omitted, or, without violating a positive law, by the abuse of discretionary power from improper motives or for an improper purpose.

“It should be understood, however, that while this is a proper definition, yet it by no means follows that the power of impeachment is limited to technical crimes or misdemeanors only. It may reach officers who, from incapacity or other cause, are absolutely unfit for the performance of their duties, when no other remedy exists, and where the public interests imperatively demand it.

“When no other remedy can protect them, the interests of millions of people may not be imperiled from tender regard to official tenure, which can only be held for their ruin.”

General Butler, one of the Managers on the part of the House in the impeachment of President Johnson, adopted it, and in his opening argument referred to it in the following complimentary terms :

“I pray leave to lay before you, at the close of my argument, a brief of all the precedents and authorities upon this subject, in both countries, for which I am indebted to the exhaustive and learned labors of my friend, the Hon. William Lawrence, of Ohio, member of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, in which I fully concur, and which I adopt.”



W. E. Noble

WILLIAM E. ROBINSON.



THE people of the United States are either emigrants or the descendants of emigrants from the Old World. Probably one-fifth of them were born in Europe, though seldom more than five or six of these hold seats in Congress. There are always some of them, however, and they are nowise inferior as a class, either in capacity, intelligence, or patriotism.

William Erigena Robinson was born in Unagh, near Cookstown, Tyrone County, Ireland, on the 6th of May, 1814. His father (Thomas—married to Mary Sloss) was a merchant in Cookstown, renting a small farm in Unagh, where he died in 1863.

William worked on his father's farm, and attended school, while a boy, entering at length, in 1832, the Royal Academy at Belfast; but a severe attack of typhus fever soon arrested his studies, and, on recovering, he resolved to seek his fortune in the New World. Embarking at Liverpool, he had a stormy voyage of eight weeks to New York, where he landed in September, 1836. His emotions on first approaching the shores of his adopted country, found expression as follows:

Hail! brightest banner that floats on the gale!
Flag of the country of Washington, hail!
Red are thy stripes, as the blood of the brave,
Bright are thy stars as the sun on the wave;
Wrapt in thy folds are the hopes of the free,
Banner of Washington, blessings on thee!

Mountain-tops mingle the sky with their snow;
Prairies lie smiling in sunshine below;
Rivers, as broad as the sea in their pride,
Border thine Empires, but do not *divide*;
Niagara's voice far out-anthems the sea;
Land of sublimity, blessings on thee!

Hope of the World ! on thy mission sublime,
 When thou didst burst on the pathway of Time,
 Millions from darkness and bondage awoke ;
 Music was born when Liberty spoke ;
 Millions to come yet shall join in the glee ;
 Land of the Pilgrim's hope ! blessings on thee !

Empires shall perish and monarchies fall ;
 Kingdoms and thrones in thy glory grow pale !
 Thou shalt live on, and thy people shall own
 Loyalty's sweet, where each heart is thy throne.
 UNION and FREEDOM thine heritage be,
 Country of Washington, blessings on thee !

Though fully of age, and wholly dependent on his own exertions, young Robinson soon entered the classical school of Rev. John J. Owen, where he completed his preparation for college, entering Yale as a Freshman in the autumn of 1837. While in college, he began to write for the journals, especially the New Haven *Herald*. He graduated in 1841, and his valedictory oration before the Brothers in Unity was published by the Society. He now entered the New Haven Law School, but still found time for writing, and for lecturing on Ireland, in response to invitations from different cities. In 1844, he became a writer for the New York *Tribune*, with which he was for several years connected, either as correspondent ("Richelieu") or assistant editor ; but he wrote also for the Richmond *Whig*, Boston *Atlas*, and other journals, especially while acting as correspondent at Washington. In the autumn of 1846, he edited for a time the Buffalo *Express*. In 1848, he was proposed as a Whig candidate for Congress from New York City, in a district where a nomination was then equivalent to an election ; but another was preferred to him by a majority of one. In 1849, he started in that city, in connection with the late Thomas Devin Reilly, an Irish paper entitled *The People* ; but this proving a losing speculation, was stopped at the close of its first half-year, and Mr. Robinson accepted the post of Measurer in the New York Custom House, and held it till the Whig party was ousted from power by the election of Pierce as President. General Scott was the Whig candidate in 1852, and he had no more zealous nor efficient supporter than Mr. Robinson.

The dissolution of the Whig party was one consequence (if not rather a cause) of General Scott's overwhelming discomfiture, and Mr. Robinson thenceforth eschewed politics. He was married in January, 1853, to Miss Helen A. Dougherty, of Newark, New Jersey, and devoted himself assiduously to the practice of law in New York for the ten years ensuing. Though avoiding activity or prominence in politics, his affiliations during this period were mostly with the independent or anti-Tammany Democrats, by whom he was once run for a District Judge; but though he ran ahead of his Democratic rival on the regular ticket, the split insured the defeat of both. Meantime he made a visit, in 1859, to his native land, accompanied by his wife, and had the pleasure of greeting once more his aged father not long before his decease. He made a hasty trip on the Continent, but returned without crossing the Alps. A public dinner was given to him by the Mayor, Recorder, and other citizens of New York, on his departure, and a similar honor was bestowed upon him at the Giant's Causeway by his old friends and neighbors on his arrival in Ireland.

Having removed to Brooklyn, and the war of secession having constrained him to take an active part in defense of the Union, President Lincoln, in 1862, appointed him Assessor of Internal Revenue in the Third District, and he held that trust until March 4, 1867, when he resigned it, having been elected to Congress from that District, as a Democrat, at the preceding November election, by 12,634 votes to 10,803 for Simeon B. Chittendon, Republican. The District chose a Republican at the preceding election.

Mr. Robinson's prior knowledge of Congress as a correspondent was extensive and familiar. Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, and John M. Clayton, were members in his day, and he was on friendly terms with all the great men of the Whig party. James K. Polk, Millard Fillmore, James Buchanan, and Franklin Pierce, with Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, Thomas H. Benton, John Slidell, and William L. Yaney, were under his eye for years as he watched the proceedings from the reporters' gallery of either House. Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham

Lincoln, and Andrew Johnson, were members of that House whereof Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, was Speaker, and of whose doings Mr. Robinson was a watchful and deeply interested observer. Twenty years elapsed before he was called to a seat, and in those years most of them had passed from earth. Andrew Johnson, Simon Cameron, and Robert C. Schenck, are perhaps all who remain in public life of those whom Mr. Robinson saw occupying seats in Congress in 1846-7.

Elected as a Democrat, Mr. Robinson has been faithful to the convictions of his party, but not a blind partisan. He voted for Schuyler Colfax for Speaker. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, he has devoted his attention mainly to the securing of full protection for the rights of adopted citizens against the claims of European Governments to require of them military service, or to call them to account for acts done or words spoken in this country. If this question shall ultimately be settled to the satisfaction of the large class more especially interested, the credit will be largely due to Mr. Robinson's ardent and indefatigable efforts. He closed one of his speeches on the subject with these impressive words :

"I have done what I could to excite the attention of this people, and to call that of this House to the subject, and I can only say that when this thing is accomplished, when the true doctrine which we announce here to-day, and will hereafter insist upon, shall become incorporated in international law, and its vitality shall be recognized throughout the world, though I may have departed before that time, my memory may live among those who have advocated it. And in that hour of triumph for American ideas, and maybe the hour of Ireland's independence, although

" 'I, too, shall be gone ; yet my name shall be spoken
When Erin awakes, and her fetters are broken.' "

Mr. Robinson, while discharging his duties as an American citizen, has always been devoted to the cause of his native land. The subject of protecting American citizens in foreign lands, and guaranteeing the right of expatriation, was urged by him on the attention of Con-

gress in 1842, through Henry Clay; and since then he has kept it before the public in lectures, speeches, and editorials. In 1843, he was a prominent actor in the Irish Repeal movement in this country. In 1847, when the famine broke out in Ireland, he was the principal actor in the movement to send from this country that substantial relief which the *Macedonian* and other vessels carried to Ireland. It was at his request that his friends, John J. Crittenden and Washington Hunt, urged the Half-Million Bill on the Senate (which passed it) and the House (where it failed), and carried through the Resolution to send the frigate *Macedonian* with provisions. The national meeting in Washington, at which Vice-President Dallas presided, and Calhoun, Clayton, Cass, and others (one from each State), acted as vice-presidents—with Webster, Crittenden, and others, as speakers, was due mainly to his exertions. It was at his personal solicitation that every officer and speaker attended. In 1848, he threw his whole soul into the movement for Irish independence; and the chief actors therein sought, found, and acknowledged Mr. Robinson's efficient and disinterested friendship on their arrival in this country. In 1856-7, he was Secretary (James T. Brady, President) of the Society of "The Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty," which held up the tolerant views of Washington in opposition to those of the then formidable Know-Nothing party; and he was chosen by that Society, at their last grand annual banquet on Washington's birth-day, 1857, as speaker to the principal toast, in place of Judge Douglas of Illinois, who had been chosen for that duty, but was unable to attend.

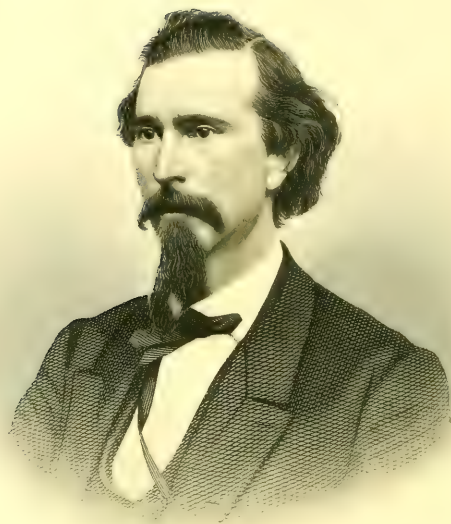
Many of Mr. Robinson's lectures, speeches, and orations, and some of his poetry, have been published, and extensively quoted and criticized on both sides of the Atlantic—particularly his orations before the Psi Upsilon Society, convened from different colleges, at Hamilton College, in 1851, in which he combated the then prevalent idea that this country is Anglo-Saxon, arguing that the Irish was the strongest, and the Anglo-Saxon the weakest element in the United States. The distant mutterings of disunion were heard even then, and, at the close of the oration, Mr. Robinson thus referred to it:

"This Union shall not fail. It shall stand: for the prayers, and hopes, and sympathies of a world are gathering around it. * * *

"There are four millions of citizen soldiers whose every heart is a citadel, whose every body is a shield around and over it; and around the citadel of liberty shall rise ramparts of bodies, and shall flow a deluge of blood, before its safety is periled or its throne shaken. From the exiles from one country alone, whose sons, flying from oppression there, found shelter here, we could raise an army of 100,000 fighting men, as brave, as irresistible, as their countrymen who fought at Cremona or Fontenoy. * * * There should be 'no such word as fail' in the Lexicon of this Republic. Washington's wisdom, Montgomery's blood, the blessings of the past, the promise of the future, the hopes of the world, are mingling with the folds of its flag, and dancing in its stars. * * *

"Those who talk of disunion have little faith in man's wisdom, and less in God's providence. They have but a faint idea of our bright destiny. The light of that flag shall burst like a sun upon the falling ruins of oppression throughout the world. Many an eye, sick and sunken, shall revive to gaze upon the increasing constellation of its stars. There shall be no Gibeon on which the sun of its glory shall stand still: no valley of Ajalon over which the moon of its beauty shall be stayed. For him who shall attempt to fire the temple of American Liberty, who would pale a star, or blot a stripe from its glorious flag, time shall be too short for repentance, Heaven too indignant for forgiveness, and the woe of the doomed too merciful for the punishment of his crime. He shall perish from among men; his name shall not blister on the page of history; he,

'Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from which he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung.'"



James A. Johnson

JAMES A. JOHNSON.



JAMES A. JOHNSON was born at Spartanburg, South Carolina, May 16, 1829. He received a common-school education, and studied medicine and law. From 1850 to 1853 he was employed as a writer and correspondent for various newspapers. In 1853 he went to California, and engaged in mining and mercantile business. In the fall of 1859 he left these pursuits for the practice of law, in which he has ever since been engaged. He served two terms in the Legislature of California. In 1867 he was elected to the Fortieth Congress as a Democrat. The Legislature of California having meanwhile changed the time of holding Congressional elections from the odd to the even years, he was in 1868 re-elected a Representative in the Forty-first Congress. In the Fortieth Congress he was appointed to positions on the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and the Committee on Agriculture. Mr. Johnson has made several speeches on the Public Lands, Railroads, and other subjects of special importance to his State. On the 30th of June, 1868, he made a speech in favor of the bill making an appropriation for the purchase of Alaska. He gave interesting facts and figures relating to the extent and resources of the Territory, and showed the importance of the acquisition to the whole country, and especially to his own State. We make the following extract :

“ California is a young State, but is mature in all that constitutes the elements of a rising and prosperous commonwealth. Minerva-like, she sprung out fully developed from the fertile brains of her own statesmen. As a commercial, agricultural, mechanical, and wealth-producing State, despite disasters from floods and fires, she has at-

tained a greatness which makes the records of her prosperity appear almost fabulous. Experience has developed her channels of prosperity, and she stands to-day the most notable example in the world of the energy, enterprise, and industry of a people. Scarce nineteen years ago, her hills and plains were settled by the best young bloods of our country, when she commenced an existence with all the elements to make her an excelsior State.

“With her first life she was possessed of all the advantages of the improvements of the age, and did not have to grow into their use by overcoming the prejudices of the past. We are of the present time, and availing ourselves of the advantages of the day; and as each progressive benefit for the community is developed, we have incorporated it with our daily life, thus lending vitality ever to our young blood and venturesome spirits. Too much honor can never be done the young men of California. Among us are settled young men from every country in Europe. With the liberal spirit of the age and our own institutions, we have adopted all that is good to the community from each. Such valuable traits, methods, and means of future benefit as were consonant with our institutions, we have wove into the fabric of our social as well as business life, and have thus become more liberal and expansive in our views, more progressive in our exertions. We differ essentially in our manners and customs from other communities, which are trammelled by old-fashioned routine and by old traditions, and worse, by old prejudices. We are daring and venturesome. Old fogies would call us daring, extravagant, and perhaps reckless, but our course is controlled by rules of progress and commerce which accord with the spirit of the age, and so we make our paths of industry broader, brighter, and more inviting than can be found elsewhere. The wants of the community, and the natural impulse of enlarging the sphere of commercial interests—an interest which binds together the States of this Union—rationalizes our progress.

“We need no better example to illustrate this than the recent change into our hands of the trade of China, *via* California, which

will eventually make San Francisco the center of the commercial world, and place in the lap of her queenly and capacious robes the wealth of Asia, however this may be to the disadvantage of England. This is one of the revolutions resulting from our progress; and does it not reflect equal credit on the commercial enterprise of the great marts of the Atlantic, whose interests are so closely interwoven with our own as to be almost identical? Any benefit accruing to California, is a benefit to them in a commercial point of view. We are raising up in our youths, as it were, a new nationality, educated on a scale unknown elsewhere in the Union. The blessings of a free education are not confined to the channels of English knowledge alone; but the German, French, and Spanish classics are taught in our public schools, as also are the fine arts, the law, medicine, mechanics, metallurgy, music and painting, while theology is not neglected. We intend that our posterity shall possess the same vigor mentally, that a beneficent God has given them physically; for we are blessed with a climate beyond compare, and a soil teeming with richness, bearing with an astonishing prolificacy all the cereals and fruits of the most temperate as well as tropical climates."

On the 8th of February, Mr. Johnson addressed the House on the subject of Reconstruction, in which he denounced "the tyranny which loads the people with unbearable taxation, and enthralls the white citizens of ten States."

On the 24th of February, 1868, the House having under consideration the Resolution reported from the Committee on Reconstruction to impeach the President, Mr. Johnson remarked:

"Is it wise, is it desirable, is it necessary to impeach the President of the United States? Is there an uprising of the people demanding the impeachment of this high officer? One word answers all these questions: No. There is not a man in the United States, outside of Congress, who desires the impeachment of the President, except those who desire it on political grounds, and those speculators and agitators who hope to make capital out of their country's misfortunes, and hope that by possible convulsions they may be shaken to the

surface, and may profit by the general ruin. No possible advantage, not attainable other ways, will be gained by this impeachment; and untold misfortunes may result from it. Whatever tends to weaken the respect of the people for high official station, for our courts and laws, weakens the force of the Constitution. This proceeding has such tendency. Whatever tends to make uncertain our laws and institutions, certainly should be regarded as against good policy. Whatever tends to render uncertain and above the courts any tenure, whether of constitutional and lawful place, of property, or of life, should be avoided as dangerous to liberty, and as leading to chaos and anarchy on the one side, or a despotism on the other. The unrestrained bad passions of hot and hasty politicians involved us in a fearful civil war seven years ago, the horrors of which can never be written. By it ten States of this Union have been reduced from happy, prosperous, and rich commonwealths, to a state bordering upon starvation, to misery, despondency, and the most terrible condition of poverty, with their governments turned over to the keeping of ignorant and lawless bands of degraded negroes. Desolation and ruin have swept over that portion of our common country. Where the torch and the sword passed by, and left a little green, fertile spot, with its happy cultivator undisturbed, the speculator has since gone; the happy tiller of the soil has been turned out penniless and homeless; and the little green spot, by a convenient mode of confiscation, has become the property of some political thief who prayed for a civil war in his own country, his own land."



Truly your friend
Am Ashley

JAMES M. ASHLEY.



JAMES M. ASHLEY is a native of Pennsylvania, and was born November 14, 1824. He left home before attaining his fifteenth year, and for a time was a cabin-boy on Western river steamboats. He subsequently worked in a printing office, and visiting Portsmouth, Ohio, where his father had at one time resided, he connected himself with the press, to which his tastes and inclinations appear to have led him, and presently became one of the editors of the *Dispatch*, and afterwards editor and proprietor of the *Democrat*.

From the editor's sanctum, Mr. Ashley went into the law office of C. O. Tracy, Esq., at that time one of the most distinguished lawyers of Southern Ohio. There he remained three years, and was admitted to the bar in 1849, but never practiced his profession.

He engaged for a time in boat-building, and in 1852 we find him at Toledo, Ohio, engaged in the drug business. Meanwhile he participated actively in politics, and in 1858 was elected to the Thirty-sixth Congress from the Tenth Ohio District.

Without experience in public life, Mr. Ashley entered upon his Congressional career at a time of unusual interest, when the tempest of Southern treason was gathering in the firmament. While many were faltering in the enforcement of the popular demand for the nationalization of freedom, he maintained a uniform consistency, and was among the foremost in demanding this reform. All the great measures which now shed luster and honor upon the record of the Republican party, were advocated by him long before their adoption, and many of them were by him first introduced into

Congress. He prepared and reported to the House the first measure of Reconstruction submitted to Congress, which, though defeated at the time of its first presentation, finally received the overwhelming indorsement of his party, both in and out of Congress. He has presented several propositions which, at the time of their introduction, failed to command the united vote of his party in Congress, but not one of importance which did not finally receive that indorsement.

Mr. Ashley has ever been a most active and reliable friend of the soldier. Every measure for their benefit or relief has received his earnest and active support. During the war very much of his time, when not at his post in Congress, was spent in visiting them in the hospitals and upon the field, and their every want or request met with his hearty response. The greater portion of his salary was expended for their relief, and no demand upon his charity or labor in their behalf failed to meet a generous response at his hands. Since the close of the war he has been ever vigilant in looking after their claims against the Government, and his efforts have been of much service in securing them against tedious delays and the treachery of unscrupulous agents.

Mr. Ashley was the first to move in the House for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, and made several speeches advocating that measure, and for some time stood comparatively alone.

On the 29th of May he took the lead again in introducing into the House a constitutional amendment, the object of which was to abolish the office of Vice-President, making the presiding officer of the Senate elective by that body, limiting the term of the President to four years, and providing for his election directly by the people.

Mr. Ashley made a speech advocating this amendment, on which a contemporary very properly remarks that "the time has been in our history when reputations for statesmanship were established by speeches of less ability."

"The country," said he in that speech, "has been distracted, and its peace imperiled more than once, because of the existence of the office of Vice-President. The nation would have been spared the terrible

ordeal through which it passed in the contest between Jefferson and Burr in 1801 had there been no vice-presidential office. Had there been no such office, we would have been spared the perfidy of a Tyler, the betrayal of a Fillmore, and the baseness and infamy of a Johnson.

* * * * *

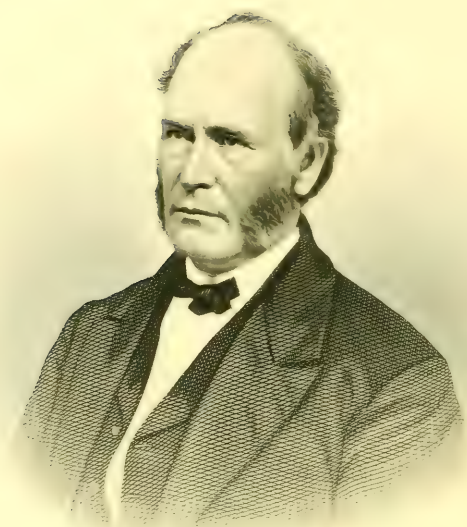
"While each of the candidates for President and Vice-President professes to subscribe to the so-called platform of principles adopted by the conventions which nominate them, they nevertheless represent, as a rule, opposing factions in the party, and often at heart antagonistic ideas, which are only subordinated for the sake of party success. This was the case with Harrison and Tyler, Taylor and Fillmore, Lincoln and Johnson. When each of these Vice-Presidents, on the death of the President-elect, came into the presidential office, he attempted to build up a party which should secure his re-election. For this purpose they did not scruple to betray the great body of men who elected them to the office of Vice-President, nor did they hesitate at the open and shameless use of public patronage for that purpose. The weakest and most dangerous part of our executive system for the personal safety of the President is a defect in the Constitution itself. I find it in that clause of the Constitution which provides that the Vice-President shall, on the death or inability of the President, succeed to his office. The presidential office is thus undefended, and invites temptation. The life of but one man must often stand between the success of unscrupulous ambition, the designs of mercenary cliques, or the fear and hatred of conspirators."

In a recent address, Mr. Ashley paid the following tribute to certain prominent anti-slavery men of the country :

"To the anti-slavery men and women of the United States we owe our political redemption as a nation. They who endured social and political ostracism, the hatred of slave-masters, and the cowardly assaults of Northern mobs, in defense of those who were manacled and dumb, and could not ask for help, were the moral heroes of our great anti-slavery revolution. To them, and to many thousands whose names will never be written on the pages of history, but whose lives

were as true, as unselfish, and as consecrated as any, is the nation indebted for its regenerated Constitution, its vindication of the rights of human nature, and its solemn pledge for the future impartial administration of justice. To me these are the men whose lives are the most beautiful and the most valuable. . . . The world is full of men whose pure and unselfish lives ennoble and dignify the human race. My exemplars are the men who in all ages have lived such lives, whether religious reformers like Luther and Wesley, or philosophers and statesmen like Hampden and Sydney, Locke and Bacon, Cobden and Bright and John Stuart Mill; or like our own Washington and Lincoln, Phillips and Garrison, Stevens and Sumner, Greeley and Gerrit Smith. To me the only model statesman is he who secures liberty and impartial justice for all, and protects the weak against the strong. He is the statesman and the benefactor who aids in educating the ignorant, and in lightening the cares of the toiling millions."

For ten years Mr. Ashley held a seat in Congress by successive re-elections. In the fall of 1868, however, the official returns gave the election to the Forty-first Congress to his opponent, but under such circumstances as to cause the seat to be contested.



J. J. Wilson

JOHN T. WILSON.



JOHN THOMAS WILSON was born in Highland County, Ohio, April 16, 1811. His father was in politics a Whigg. in religion a Methodist, and by trade a carpenter. He died when his son, the subject of this sketch, was six years old. Highland County was, at that time, in a wilderness, and it was no unusual thing to hear the wolves howling nightly around the log cabins of the settlers.

John commenced business for himself at sixteen years of age. He began with clerking in a store at four dollars a month, and after a short time engaged in teaching school. When nineteen, he went to Tippecanoe County, Indiana, where he spent the winter in splitting rails, at the rate of thirty-seven and a half cents per hundred. In the spring following, Mr. Wilson rented some ground and planted a corn-field. When this was "laid by," he engaged himself as a farm hand at seven dollars per month; and in the succeeding winter, again took to the woods with his ax, to resume, at the same price as before, the manufacture of rails.

He was now in the twenty-first year of his age; and returning to Ohio, he commenced mercantile life in the County of Adams, and continued in that business during the twenty-four succeeding years. He commenced in a humble and modest way—his first stock of goods not being much more than sufficient to load a wheel-barrow. At the commencement of the rebellion, Mr. Wilson was one of the first to respond with means and influence for maintaining the Union. He first gave to his country an only son, a youth of noble intellect and liberal attainments. This young man enlisted in the Thirty-third

Regiment of the Ohio Volunteers, organized at Portsmouth, and commanded by the gallant Colonel Sill. He was appointed Orderly Sergeant of one of the companies, and distinguished himself as one of the most talented and faithful non-commissioned officers of the regiment. But he did not long survive the hardships of a soldier's life, and died by sickness at Louisville, Kentucky, in the following year.

As more men were called for by the country, Mr. Wilson himself soon volunteered his services, and accepted a recruiting commission for the Seventieth Ohio Regiment. He was promptly elected captain of one of the companies of this regiment, and after visiting his dying son at Louisville, he joined his regiment at Paducah. He was in Sherman's Division in the expedition up the Tennessee. Reaching Pittsburg Landing, his regiment had its position in front of Grant's army, near Shiloh meeting-house. He was in the sanguinary battle of Shiloh, where, although his company had never before been under fire, it distinguished itself for coolness and bravery. Among the officers honorably mentioned in the Commanding Officer's Report, none were more highly complimented than Captain Wilson. After the battle, he was violently attacked with disease, and his recovery deemed hopeless. In a state of insensibility he was sent home, and, by careful treatment, he recovered, so as to be able to rejoin his regiment. He continued in the service till forced by disability to resign his command. He was afterwards detailed as Brigade Quartermaster, which post he filled with ability and faithfulness until the commencement of 1863, when he received an honorable discharge from the service.

In 1863, Captain Wilson was elected to the Ohio State Senate, and was re-elected in 1865. In 1866, he was elected to the Fortieth Congress as a Representative from the Eleventh District of Ohio, and was re-elected in 1868.

Mr. Wilson has given much careful thought to the great financial questions which occupy the public mind. On the 25th of January he delivered in the House of Representatives an important speech on

the Public Debt. In this speech he proposed and ably advocated the establishment of a sinking fund, showing that thus the entire public debt might be liquidated within a period of seventeen years. Referring to a bill pending in the Senate for funding the public debt, he said :

"I am opposed to all such bills; I do not wish to change the bargain, neither do I want forty years to elapse before the debt is paid in full. This funding system, in common parlance, means giving new obligations for old ones, with the advantage ordinarily, as in the present case, on the side of the holder. The capitalist is not desirous to have the principal due him paid, for it is the goose which lays the golden egg, hence he prefers a long bond to a short one, a gold bond to one payable in currency, and will readily make the exchange. Most other men would do the same, for it is not in human nature to refuse the best end of the bargain when offered, and especially when offered by so wealthy and so respectable a gentleman as our Uncle Sam.

"This funding system, as it is called, so far from having a tendency to bring about the payment of the debt, thereby freeing the country from the burden, has precisely the opposite effect; and but few instances are to be found in history where nations who, after commencing this system, did not continue it indefinitely from generation to generation, paying the amount of the principal in interest over and over again, without being able to reduce the principal of the debt a single dollar, did not finally, and when they could do no better, quietly conclude to let the obligation remain, and, like England, proclaim to the world that 'a public debt was a public blessing,' leaving their children to struggle under the load.

"Not so with young America; he is never so happy as when paying his debts; never sleeps so well as when his obligations are fully met and discharged; and when he gives his son a farm, he does not want it encumbered by a Government mortgage to the extent of ten or fifteen per cent. on its value."

He opposed the proposition to issue greenbacks in amounts sufficient to pay off the five-twenty bonds. "Next to the soldiers of the

Union," said he, "by whose valor, strength, and skill the Republic was saved, I honor the men who in the hour of their country's need stepped forward and furnished the sinews of war. We could not have survived without either the one or the other of these classes, and I have no doubt the Government will do justice to both. Carry out this mammoth greenback doctrine, and instead of paying fatherless children, pensioned widows, and maimed soldiers in valuable funds, as is now done, you will pay them in a depreciated and worthless currency, worth perhaps less than ten cents to the dollar, eight dollars of which per month will not buy food and raiment sufficient to keep the soul and body of the pensioner together; and thus by turning your maimed heroes upon the world as beggars, you will disgrace your country for ever.

"If this policy is to prevail, as well might the rebellion have been a success. Ruin the finances, and you ruin the nation; by striking down her credit, you neutralize every element of prosperity."

Mr. Wilson closed his speech with the following words:


"It is true that we have a country of almost unbounded extent, possessing all the elements of individual and national wealth; it is true that the resources of the country are being rapidly developed, and that our population is increasing at a rate unequalled in the history of the world; but is that any argument why we should not avail ourselves of the present propitious times, and lay such a foundation as will insure the payment of our indebtedness within the next twenty years without any undue taxation or oppression to the people? Certainly not.

"The fertility of our valleys, the richness of our mines, and the extent of our domain are among the glories of the American citizen; but, so far from having anything in this line for sale from which to pay our debts, an unconquerable desire seems to crop out in high places for the possession of more country, without regard to its quality, or to our ability to pay for it."



Chas. Sumner

GEORGE V. LAWRENCE.

HE father of the subject of this sketch was himself a Member of Congress. Hon. Joseph Lawrence was a Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, from 1825 to 1829, and again from 1841 to the time of his death, which occurred in Washington, April 17, 1842.

His son, George V. Lawrence, was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, Nov. 13, 1818. He was a student at the Washington College for a time, but through loss of his health failed to graduate. He afterwards labored for ten years at farming. In 1844, he was elected to the State Legislature from his native county, and re-elected in 1847. He was also a member of the State Senate for six years, in which, during his last term in that body, he was chosen Speaker. In 1864, he was elected to Congress, and was re-elected in 1866.

Mr. Lawrence represents a District of extensive agricultural resources, with immense capacity for stock-raising and wool-growing, in both of which his constituents are largely engaged. In these pursuits, their representative is also deeply concerned, and has a thorough knowledge of all the relations of a protective tariff to the manufacturing interests and the revenues of the country. He also possesses the ability requisite to present this subject before the country for intelligent legislation.

In presenting his views in a speech on this general subject, he gave the following interesting statistics relating to sheep and wool-growing:

"From 1840 to 1860 there was little increase in the production of wool, or number of sheep—really no substantial advancement in twenty years—and this during a period when other interests were,

the most of them, in a flourishing condition; indeed, wool is almost the only product that did not increase largely. Our population increased over eight millions between 1850 and 1860. The increase of stock, except sheep, in the Western States in these years was one hundred and forty-three and a half per cent., but of sheep only two and seven-tenths per cent., and wool seventeen per cent. All the agricultural products except this increased in the last decade one hundred and twenty-five per cent. In 1850 the number of sheep returned was 21,723,220, and the amount of wool at 25,516,954 pounds. The number of sheep in 1860 was 24,823,556, and the amount of wool 60,511,543 pounds.

"In Pennsylvania during the ten years preceding the rebellion, the number of sheep had decreased twelve per cent.; in Illinois, fourteen per cent. After the war had been waged for four years, and we had been thrown more upon our own resources, and less wool was imported on account of the danger to which foreign commerce was exposed, and also because of the slight protection under the tariff of 1861, the increase in Pennsylvania in the production of wool was seventy-six per cent., and in a greater ratio in some of the Western States. Illinois, for example, had during ten years preceding decreased fourteen per cent.; but during the first two years of the war the number increased from 769,135 to 1,206,195. This shows how this interest increased when we had control of the home market, or even partially so. I doubt not many wool-growers will be utterly astonished when I present figures showing the importations of foreign wool into the United States, and when they see how their interests come in competition and are put in jeopardy by products of cheap land and cheaper labor in foreign countries sold in their own market."

In his speech pending the question of the Presidential Impeachment, Mr. Lawrence thus describes the conduct of Mr. Johnson:

"When we refused to acquiesce in his efforts to restore rebels to power, and to establish governments in the South on his plan, which was intended to bring into the high places of the Government lead-

ing rebels just from the fields of blood and carnage, and to place the loyal men of the South for ever under the control and dominion of this class, and to allow these same leaders to renew the conflict in the halls of Congress which they had lost in the field, he boldly separated from those who elected him, vetoed almost every important measure which was intended in any way to restore the Southern States, so as to prevent a recurrence of the troubles through which we had just passed, and allied himself with those who had opposed the war, and denounced him and us and all our measures to put down the rebellion.

“ In his veto messages at various times, and so often repeated, he was bold in the utterance of his sentiments, and defiant when the people indorsed our acts and condemned his. He sought opportunities to send to the House and Senate insulting messages. He harangued the mob on the 22d of February, 1866, naming and abusing prominent members of Congress and the Senate, and leading public journalists of the country, to the great disgrace of himself and the humiliation of all the honest and intelligent people of the nation. He traveled North and West, and on all public occasions denounced the representatives of the people in intemperate and inflammatory language, suited to the fish-market. He discussed the proposition of recognizing Southern traitors, elected under his plan of reconstruction, and Northern Democrats, as the Congress of the nation, if they would assemble together. He restored many leading rebels, and returned to them their property without consent of Congress. He has called to his intimate counsels some of those who were violently and openly opposed to the war to save the Union, and has as studiously avoided and disregarded the advice of those who did most to elect him, and to aid in preserving our unity as a nation. Notwithstanding all this array of offenses, and many I cannot enumerate in the time allotted me, I was opposed to the first attempt to impeach, because while I thought these offenses were great, they might not be considered as intentional violations of law, and could not, in the common sense of the term, be considered high crimes and misde-

meanors. Then again, I knew the country demanded peace and harmony in council, if possible. I feared the monetary and commercial interests of the country would suffer by the constant agitation of the question, and I believed a large majority of the people I have the honor to represent were opposed to it, and in this I was correct, as I have had ample evidence since. * * *


"After the Senate has acted and the President is deposed, confidence will be restored, and we will be able to carry out our measures of reconstruction without the opposition of the rebels of the South and their allies in the North, and secure to the loyal men South their rights under the Constitution and the acts of Congress.

"It cannot be denied that the President has used all his official power and influence to defeat our measures of reconstruction, has invited and encouraged the leading rebels of the South to oppose and aid in the defeat of our plan to build up State Governments in the South, and has been in a measure successful; for the best, most mild, and fair proposition we ever made was the amendments proposed to the Constitution in 1866, and on which we should have stood until this time, and compelled submission to them. The people indorsed them fully, and, for my own part, I much preferred them to any measure adopted since. No plan, however, to bring in these States which Congress can present will receive the sanction of the President; and had it not been for his persistent opposition to our measures, and the encouragement given to those lately in rebellion, by his acts and by the position of the Democratic party, we would long since have had those States represented on this floor, and harmony and peace in the country. When the President is removed in a constitutional way (and I hope it will be done in no other way), there will be rejoicing among all the loyal people of the land, not because of the triumph of Congress over the President, but because the Constitution and law are vindicated, and the world will see that even the highest officer under our form of Government is amenable to the law, and can be punished for its infraction. Let the majesty of the law be vindicated, and loyal and true men become our rulers."



C. F. Townsend

CARMAN A. NEWCOMB.

ARMAN A. NEWCOMB was born in Mercer County, Pennsylvania, July 1, 1830. After receiving an academical education, he commenced the study of law, at the age of eighteen, with Hon. W. M. Stevenson. He removed to Freeport, Illinois, where he resumed the reading of law, and was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Illinois. He soon after emigrated to Iowa, and located at West Union, Fayette County. Here he was elected to the office of Prosecuting Attorney, which he held two years. He was then elected and served as Judge for two years.

Early in 1861, he raised one of the first companies that entered the three years' service, for the suppression of the Rebellion. He was mustered into the service on the 16th of May, 1861, as Captain of Company F, Third Regiment of Iowa Volunteers. In the fall of the same year, he removed his family to Missouri, where he has since resided. After serving a year and a half in the army, he resigned because of ill-health.

In 1864, he was elected a member of the lower House of the General Assembly of Missouri, and took a leading part in all the important questions which came before that body. He was especially active in opposition to a change in the Constitution which imposed disabilities on rebels. He was appointed, by Governor Fletcher, Attorney for the Fifteenth Judicial Circuit of Missouri, which he declined, as he did the Judgeship of the same Circuit, which was subsequently offered him.

In 1866, Mr. Newcomb was elected a member of the Fortieth Congress to represent the Second District of Missouri, composed of the Counties of Jefferson, Crawford, Phelps, Franklin, Maries, Gas-

conade, and Osage, together with four wards of the city of St. Louis. In the deliberations of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Newcomb took an active part. In a speech favoring the impeachment of the President, he said :

“The impeachment and removal of Andrew Johnson will be looked upon all over the world, as the grand crowning triumph of freedom and republicanism, and do more to overthrow arbitrary power and oppression, and establish the universal Republic, than any other act of this Government up to the present time. The war of 1812, the war with Mexico, and the late civil contest with rebellion, demonstrated the power of the Republic to repel invasion, to prosecute foreign war, and defend itself against the machinations of internal foes. The impeachment and removal of Andrew Johnson will prove the power of the people, under the forms of law, to remove a ruler of their own selection whenever he proves false to the ideas that underlie the institutions of our country, or his elevation to power. The contests of arms resulted in victories of force over force, while the successful impeachment of a criminal Executive will prove the grandest of the many grand victories of liberty and peace, more noble and enduring in its influence upon the future of the nation, than ten thousand victories won upon the field of carnage and strife.


In a speech on the Suffrage question, Mr. Newcomb thus sums up :

“The colored man has ever yielded a faithful allegiance to the Government, paid taxes, and faithfully discharged the duties of citizenship in time of peace. He has rendered gallant service in all the wars of our nation, winning the highest commendation of Washington, Jackson, and Grant. His deeds of heroism and valor are most honorable. They are for ever treasured up in the history of our country. They are immortalized by the speech of the orator and the poet’s song ; and, sir, I do insist that while we require and accept his service in support and defense of the Government, it is an act of injustice and cowardice to withhold from him his rights of citizenship that will some day call down upon this nation the scorn and reproach of mankind.”



Charles F. Johnson

RUFUS MALLORY.

UFUS MALLORY was born June 10, 1831. His birth-place was Coventry, Chenango County, New York. Soon after his birth, his parents emigrated to Alleghany County, where they resided until 1838, when they removed to Steuben County. Young Mallory enjoyed such educational advantages as the common-schools then afforded. His allotment in this respect was that which, to this day, is common with farmers' boys; that is, he attended school in winters, and wrought upon the farm during the remainder of the year. At the age of thirteen, he attended an academy at Alfred Centre during the winter term, returning to labor upon the farm through the summer and fall. After two more terms at the academy, he commenced teaching a district school at the age of sixteen. He continued teaching in winters, laboring upon the farm during the summer, and studying at the academy in the fall, until twenty-one years of age.

He now engaged himself as a clerk in a small store in Andover, Alleghany County, in which capacity he acted for about two years, when he purchased an interest in the store, and became a partner. One of his associates in the firm, J. C. Everett, Esq., was a lawyer of superior attainments, who had been thoroughly educated at one of the Eastern colleges, and had commenced practice at the same bar with Daniel Webster. He had retained his large and well-selected library, and Mallory, under his instruction, commenced the study of law. He continued his studies until 1855, when he left the State of New York, and went to reside in the West, making his home in Henry County, Iowa.

During the three years of his residence in Iowa, Mr. Mallory devoted most of his time to teaching, yet giving all his leisure hours to the diligent prosecution of his law studies. Leaving Iowa in the fall of 1858, he emigrated to Oregon—reaching that territory at New Year, 1859. His first residence here was Roseburg, the capital of Douglas County, where he resumed the business of teaching, which he continued for fifteen months. During this time, through the kindness of Hon. S. F. Chadwick, then the County Judge, he had access to an excellent law library—a privilege of which he eagerly availed himself for the prosecution of legal study.

In the month of March, 1860, at the term of the Circuit Court of the State, held in Douglas County, Mr. Mallory was admitted to practice as an attorney and counsellor-at-law. In June following, he was elected District Attorney of the First Judicial District, in which capacity he served during two years. In June, 1862, he was chosen to represent his county in the lower house of the State legislature, which held its session in the following September. He was there made Chairman of the Judiciary Committee; and after the close of the session, he was appointed, by Gov. Gibbs, District Attorney of the Third Judicial District, in place of Hon. J. G. Wilson, appointed Judge of the Fifth District. In 1864, he was elected to the same office, and continued to fill it during the term of two years, when, in 1866, he was chosen a member of the Fortieth Congress by a majority of about six hundred.

In politics, Mr. Mallory was a Whig, and cast his first vote for Gen. Scott for President, and continued to adhere to the Whig party so long as it had an existence. In 1860, he voted for Stephen A. Douglas; but at the breaking out of the war, he was among the first to advocate the rubbing out of all party lines, and of uniting without regard to former political opinions for the purpose of crushing the rebellion—thus forming the great Union party that swept the State at the June election of 1862. Mr. Mallory was elected as a Union man to the legislature in that year, and has continued to act with the Republican party to the present time.



N. S. Jewell

NORMAN B. JUDD.



DESCENDED from the old Dutch stock to which the region adjacent to the Hudson River owes so much of its thrift and energy, Norman B. Judd was born at Rome, New York, January 10, 1815.

Young Judd received the rudiments of education at the common schools, and subsequently attended Grovernor's High School at Rome. Upon his graduation from the school, he was qualified to enter college; but being unwilling to burden his parents with the expenses of his education, he determined to enter at once upon business pursuits. He was employed for a short time as a merchant's clerk; but finding this an uncongenial pursuit, he entered upon the study of law in his native town, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1836, having just attained his majority.

One of Mr. Judd's schoolmates and friend, at Grovernor's, afterwards distinguished as Chief-Justice Caton, had removed to the West, and settled in Chicago, where he had laid the foundation of a lucrative law practice.

He wrote to Mr. Judd, requesting him to come to the new city, which had already commenced to attract attention. The letter from his friend, and the advantages which the West then held out to young men, induced him to comply with the request. He arrived in Chicago in November, 1836, and at once entered into a partnership with Mr. Caton. His abilities as a lawyer immediately gave him prominent position at the bar, and secured for him an election as the first City Attorney, during the mayoralty of Hon. William B. Ogden, in the year 1837, a position which he filled successfully for two years.

In 1838, Judge Caton removed to Plainfield, Ill., and the partnership between him and Mr. Judd was dissolved. Immediately thereafter, he entered into partnership with Hon. J. Y. Scammon, and they remained together in the successful practice of the law for nine years.

Mr. Judd held many city offices during the time, and had become known as one of the leading lawyers of the State. He became largely engaged in railroad business, which he managed with so much ability and satisfaction to the companies, that he was permanently retained as the attorney for the Michigan Southern, the Chicago and Rock Island, the Mississippi and Missouri, and the Pittsburg and Fort Wayne railroads. He also held the office of president of the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad, president of the Railroad Bridge Company at Rock Island, a director of the Chicago and Rock Island railroad, and a director of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad. He has been engaged in nearly all the railroad enterprises that centered at Chicago, manifesting rare abilities for organizing that vast system which is now a source of wealth to the State, and of growth to the city.

His active political life commenced in 1844, when he was elected to the State Senate, on the Democratic ticket, from the district of Cook and Lake Counties, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. Samuel Hoard. He was re-elected to the same position in 1846, and (the new constitution cutting off half his term) again in 1848. His career in the Senate was so satisfactory in the advancement of the best interests of Chicago, that he was re-elected in 1852, and again in 1856. During the sixteen years that he was State Senator, he gave his best energies and abilities to securing the material growth and prosperity of Chicago. He also did much to place the impaired credit of the State on a healthy basis, and, aided by his close knowledge of the law and his position as an attorney, he helped largely to mould, by legislation, the character of the courts of Chicago.

We come now to an important era in Mr. Judd's political life, the

events of which brought him more prominently than ever before the people of the State. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was agitating the entire country at the election in the autumn of 1853, and was the entering-wedge that was to divide parties. The Legislature of Illinois, elected that year, was made up of three parties: Democrats, Whigs, and Anti-Nebraska Democrats. The General Assembly, in joint session, was composed of one hundred members. Of these the Whigs and Anti-Nebraska Democrats numbered fifty-one, and the Democrats forty-nine. Mr. Judd belonged to the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and was a zealous and unflinching advocate of their doctrines, although the party seemed to be in a hopeless minority. On the meeting of the General Assembly, the full strength of the party was eight, three Senators and five Representatives. Before the election for Senator came on, that small minority was still further reduced by the loss of three of its members. Honorable James Shields, who had voted to repeal the Missouri Compromise, was a candidate for re-election. Mr. Lincoln was the candidate of the Whigs, who had forty-six votes. Judge Trumbull was the candidate of the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, who could muster five votes. After several ballots, the Democrats dropped General Shields, and cast their votes for Governor Joel A. Mattison. On the nineteenth ballot, the friends of Mr. Lincoln, at his request, dropped his name, and joining the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, elected Judge Trumbull as Senator.

The action of the small minority in this election caused an intense excitement among the Whig politicians throughout the State; and afterwards, in 1860, when Mr. Judd was a candidate for nomination by the Republican party to the office of Governor, his opponents charged him with treachery and bad faith toward Mr. Lincoln.

A letter was addressed to Mr. Lincoln, inquiring into the truth of these charges. He replied with characteristic candor, fully justifying "the wisdom, politically, of Mr. Judd's course," and testifying to "his honesty, honor, and integrity."

In 1856, Mr. Judd was a member of the famous Bloomington Con-

vention, that organized the Republican party in Illinois. He was one of the prime movers of that Convention, and brought to bear upon it that executive ability which has always marked his career in the organization of conventions, the management of canvasses, and the direction of great political movements. His prominence in the Convention, both as a counselor and projector, placed him on the Committee on Resolutions, and secured for him the appointment of Chairman of the State Central Committee—a position which he held during the canvass of 1856, the Lincoln and Douglas Senatorial campaign of 1858, and the canvass of 1860, which resulted in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency. During that period, his practical experience and cool judgment did much to place the party in the majority; and he managed all its canvasses with remarkable success. His *forte* was not so much on the stump—although he was always a clear, able, and forcible speaker—as in planning the battle, choosing the ground, distributing the forces, and governing their movements. In this direction he brought a rare generalship to bear upon campaigns.

The next important event in Mr. Judd's political life, was the Philadelphia Convention, that nominated John C. Fremont for the Presidency, to which Mr. Judd was a delegate from Illinois, and chairman of the delegation. He was selected by the delegation as a member of the National Republican Committee. By his efforts in that Committee, he secured Chicago as the locality for the Republican Convention of 1860.

In 1858, after a consultation with Mr. Judd, Mr. Lincoln concluded to ask for a joint discussion with Judge Douglas on the great issues of the day. Upon Mr. Judd devolved the duty of making the preliminary arrangements, and managing the executive part of a discussion which must ever be regarded as one of the most memorable events in the political history of the country.

The next political movement in which Mr. Judd was prominently engaged was the Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency, held in Chicago, in 1860, in which he was chairman of

the Illinois delegation. The contest in the Convention was between the friends of Mr. Seward, under the leadership of the New York delegation, and the friends of Mr. Lincoln, under the leadership of the Illinois delegation. Mr. Seward was placed in nomination, in behalf of the New York delegation, by Hon. William M. Evarts; and Mr. Lincoln, in behalf of the Illinois delegation, by Mr. Judd. The contest throughout was one of the most animated ever known in the history of political conventions. Mr. Seward's interests were in the hands of some of the most astute and influential politicians of the East, and some of the prominent party-leaders of the West. At the outset Mr. Seward's chances seemed the most favorable; but the ground had been carefully reviewed, and the preliminaries had been skillfully planned by the friends of Mr. Lincoln. Although the struggle was a long and severe one, Mr. Judd's generalship was successful, and Mr. Lincoln received the unanimous nomination of the Convention to be the standard-bearer of the Republican party.

Mr. Judd was one of the party that accompanied Mr. Lincoln when he went to Washington to assume the duties of the Presidency. When the party arrived in Cincinnati, Mr. Judd received a letter from Mr. Allen Pinkerton, a detective officer in Baltimore, informing him that there was a plot on foot to assassinate Mr. Lincoln on his passage through that city. Additional evidence communicated at Buffalo, New York, and Philadelphia, convinced Mr. Judd that the murderous and treasonable conspiracy was a reality. He kept the matter a profound secret from Mr. Lincoln and his company until they reached Philadelphia, and then, in the Continental Hotel, laid all the proofs of the conspiracy before them. The evidence was so conclusive that Mr. Lincoln was fully convinced of a plot to assassinate him, and acquiesced in Mr. Judd's arrangement, by which he returned from Harrisburg, and leaving Philadelphia by the night train, proceeded immediately to Washington, where he arrived a day earlier than was expected. He thus eluded his enemies, and deferred the fatal blow of assassination which fell upon him and appalled the world a little more than four years later.

On Mr. Lincoln's accession to the Presidency, March 4, 1861, the first appointment that he made after nominating the members of his Cabinet, was that of Mr. Judd to be Minister to Berlin. He immediately sailed for his new field of duty, where he remained during Mr. Lincoln's administration, one of the most energetic, faithful, and accomplished of our Representatives in foreign countries. Honored by Mr. Lincoln in being made the recipient of his first appointment, Mr. Judd was also distinguished by Mr. Johnson as the first victim in the series of removals by which he marked his departure from the party that elected him to office.

Mr. Judd came home from Berlin in October, 1865. He was at once spoken of by prominent Republicans in Chicago as the suitable man to receive their nomination for Representative in Congress.


Hon. John Wentworth, a gentleman of great ability and political influence, was his opponent before the Convention. They had been rivals for twenty years in the Democratic and Republican parties. The contest for the nomination was very spirited, but Mr. Judd triumphed over his rival, and received the nomination. He was elected by a majority of nearly eleven thousand votes.

In the deliberations and discussions of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Judd took a prominent and influential part. By his devotion to the interests of his enterprising constituency, and his patriotic regard for the good of the country, he merited the testimonial which was given in his re-election in November, 1868.



John W. Chandler

JOHN WINTHROP CHANLER.

 OHN WINTHROP CHANLER was born in the city of New York in 1826. Having graduated in Columbia College, New York, in 1847, he studied law, and practiced the profession until 1859, when he entered political life as a member of the New York State Assembly. In 1860 he was nominated for the State Senate, and declined. In the same year he was a candidate for Representative for the Sixth District of New York, but was defeated. Two years later, he was elected a Representative to the Thirty-eighth Congress, from the Seventh New York District, and was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses. In the Thirty-eighth Congress he served on the Committee on Patents; in the Thirty-ninth on the Committee on Patents, and the Bankrupt Law; and in the Fortieth Congress on the Committee on Patents, Elections, and Southern Railroads.

Mr. Chanler has been prominent among the Democrats of Congress, advocating with zeal and eloquence the views of the minority on the important subjects of recent legislation. On the 10th of December, 1867, Mr. Chanler delivered a speech in the House of Representatives, in reply to Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, on his Southern Confiscation Bill, from which we make the following extract:

“Confiscation is a method by which a conqueror robs his foes and rewards his friends. Two distinct acts are done by it, and two distinct motives actuate it. One result is sought by it, namely, security to the State established by the conqueror. All confiscation is robbery; it is the tool of the tyrant and the oppressor, who, under the law of might, creates his title to that which was another's. History

is filled with examples of confiscation. Founded in violence, sustained by fraud, and sanctioned by necessity, it has become one of the established methods by which States are overthrown and maintained. Revolutions, civil wars, conspiracies, assassinations, work the decay of dynasties, parties, and States; but by confiscation the victor seizes the spoils, and holds possession by the right of arms. Confiscation and proscription have moved hand in hand through all the changes and fluctuations of empire, and have come down to us heavy with crimes of past ages, and stained with the blood, and burdened with the wrongs of uncounted thousands whom man's inhumanity to man has made to mourn. The Roman triumvirs divided the empire and doomed their dearest friends to assassination in the same breath. The genius and eloquence of Cicero could not save him from the doom which partisan hate decreed against him. The empire of Augustus was cemented with blood and enriched by the wealth of obnoxious men, proscribed by his partisans in a spirit of revenge and avarice. Roman liberty lost her last great advocate in the death of Cicero. Roman empire began when the spirit of liberty was silenced by the edict of proscription and confiscation. All along the highway of history are strewn magnificent monuments reared to commemorate this mighty wrong by the successful tyrant of the era. No reader of the inscriptions which they bear, can leave their perusal without cherishing a hope that in his day no ruthless tyrant shall rob him of his patrimony, his freedom, or his life. Confiscation is one of the hideous monsters chained to the car of grim-visaged war, and never should be let loose to raven for its prey. It legitimately is only an instrument of terror, and should not be let loose to destroy. In time of peace it should be nowhere seen or heard; savage, cruel, destroying, it has no place among civilized, humane, and law-abiding men in times like these."

Having spoken of the general character of confiscation laws, and the punishments usual among civilized nations, Mr. Chanler said of this particular measure:

"It is a legal, lineal off-spring of that body of laws which sent the

commissioners of Herod to every household to fetch him the young child whom he feared. It is of the same kind as those memorable laws of Spain which drove the Moors from their homes in Andalusia; and of that edict of France which sent Protestant Huguenots to this land, and everywhere out of their native land, in search of a home.

"It is the same kind of laws, in a written form, as the crude laws of conquest issued by the commissioners of the King of Dahomey, of Congo, or any barbaric absolute monarchs of Central Africa, which strips every prisoner of every right to live, save at the option of the conqueror. The object is the same, the effect the same—revenge! revenge! revenge—and all in the name of justice under the cover of law—cruel, bad law—terrible, dire vengeance, carrying desolation and ruin in its course—blear-eyed justice, seeing only the avenues of wrong and cruelty.

"It was one of a long series of indictments which, as the great dragon 'swinges the horrors of his twisted tail,' was to close in upon the white race of the Southern States, and to strangle them into a torpor worse than death—the torpor of political subordination to the negro. This is the tail of this horrid monster of political atrocity; it carries the sting which was to rob the white race of all political vitality in the future. Its fiery breath was to light up the flames of another civil war of races—the prize to the conquering race to be the public lands in the Southern States. That the negro might be stronger and more irresistible for evil in this conflict, the Secretary of War is, by this bill, made monarch of the black kingdom of Dixie—supreme and mighty lord, serene invincible sovereign and commander-in-chief of the black armies which were and may hereafter be enrolled into our services, armed and equipped, without law of Congress, but on the mere general order of the War Secretary. That money might be had for this black horde without additional tax, the lands confiscated by this bill are to be sold—always, however, under the commission of this sovereign Secretary of War, who shall make a trust fund of a large part of the proceeds of the sale, to keep the families of his black warriors in hog and hominy, while the throats

of white citizens are being heroically cut, or their starved bodies stuck with black bayonets."

On the 6th of February, 1868, Mr. Chanler delivered an able speech in the House of Representatives on the Rights of American citizens abroad, from which we make the following brief extract :

"It does not properly belong, perhaps, to this branch of the Government, to mar the harmony which may exist between the Secretary of State and our foreign relations. But if the Representatives of a free and brave nation do not use every means in their power to redress the wrongs done by the oppressor of American citizens at home or abroad, the curse of that nation will justly rest upon their memory. The brand of sloth and neglect will be stamped on our names in history, when the inevitable consequence of the long list of grievances under which the naturalized citizen has lived in this country since the Revolution, shall culminate in universal Fenianism, involving this Government in a labyrinth of discords, complicated by disgrace.

"The destinies and rights of many million emigrants from Europe to this country, are in our hands. A new epoch has been made in the law of nations by the power of steam. The lateen-sails which wooed the breeze to waft the Asiatic races along the shores of Indian and Chinese seas, now flap idly on their reedy masts, as the swift steamer rides the deep, laden with the adventurous freight of human beings departing from Asia, to seek labor in the Western World, or coming from Europe to seek their fortunes in Australasia. The barriers built by Confucius are battered down by progress and Christian civilization. The Chinese wall of exclusiveness and despotism is crumbling at the sound of the steam-whistle, more terrible to barbarians than an army with banners." * * *



Chas. J. Merrill

DANIEL J. MORRELL.

BERWICK, in the State of Maine, is the native place of Daniel J. Morrell, who was born August 8, 1821. He received a common school education, inherited a fine constitution, and grew up amid the invigorating influences of farming labors, and a healthy climate. At sixteen years of age, he left home, and engaged in the mercantile business in the city of Philadelphia. In this business, as clerk and principal, he continued during eighteen years. At the end of this time, his talents and industry had won for him such a position in business, that he was selected to take charge of, and, if possible, to resuscitate the works of the Cambria Iron Company, located at Johnstown, Penn. These works had been erected in 1853, but the company became financially embarrassed before their completion, and the enterprise had proved unprofitable. A lease of the entire property was now made to the firm of "Wood, Morrell & Co.," who not only carried out the original plans of the Cambria Iron Company, but during their lease they greatly enlarged the works, and increased their capacity.

In 1862, the Cambria Iron Company was reorganized with a capital of \$1,500,000, Mr. Morrell being retained as superintendent. Since then, it has carried on the business of mining and manufacturing under its charter, and is now the largest manufacturer of railroad iron in the country, and has achieved an almost world-wide reputation for the extensiveness of its operations, the liberality of its management, and the superiority of its products. The company owns about thirty thousand acres of land—mostly mineral land—has four large blast-furnaces, rolling mills, machine shop, foundry, etc., with

numerous dwellings for the accommodation of its operatives. The original mill building having been burned in 1857, it was rebuilt in the same year by the lessees. The new edifice is six hundred and twelve feet in length, by one hundred feet wide, with cross wings three hundred and seventy-two feet by seventy-four in width. Then in 1863, an additional mill building was erected, three hundred feet by one hundred, with a connecting wing seventy-four by twenty feet. In 1865, a further extension of the building was made of three hundred by one hundred feet. The production of this immense establishment in 1865 was about one thousand tons per week, while the extensions and improvements have increased its capacity equal to the production of from sixty to seventy thousand tons of finished railroad iron per annum.

Mr. Morrell has proved himself not only a capable and successful business man, but a man of much public spirit and benevolence. His advent at Johnstown was a source of great advantage to that place. He not only raised the bankrupt Cambria Company into life, and carried forward its works to completion, but he inspired on every hand a spirit of enterprise for the improvement and growth of the town. A national bank was established, of which he became the president, and he was for a number of years an active and influential member in the councils of the town.

In 1866, Mr. Morrell was elected as a Republican Representative in the Fortieth Congress, from the 17th District of Pennsylvania, and was re-elected in October, 1868. As might be expected, Mr. Morrell is an active and efficient member of the House. Though a new member, he was honored with the chairmanship of the important Committee on Manufactures. This committee, in June, 1868, presented to the House a voluminous and able Report on "Protective Policy," which doubtless was mainly prepared by Mr. Morrell, as chairman of the committee. In this Report it is maintained that the protective policy is sanctioned by public sentiment—that it was the policy of the early statesmen of this country—that it is the policy of all industrial nations—that such policy is justified by experi-

ence---that it is indispensable to the existence among us of a diversified industry---that it is requisite to secure a remunerative market for the products of agriculture---and, finally, that it is a benefit, instead of a tax, to consumers.

During the first session, Mr. Morrell introduced a finance bill, which he supported in a speech in which he advocated an American system of industry and finance as the guaranty of national prosperity.

He also introduced a bill to provide for a reserve of gold in the Treasury and national banks, and for other purposes; another bill authorizing the payment of bounties to persons who were rejected as volunteers, and were immediately afterward drafted and held to service.

Mr. Morrell's speech in support of the Finance bill alluded to has attracted much attention, and no little severe criticism from those who differ from its views as to legislative policy on the subject.

On the 7th of July, 1868, Mr. Morrell delivered another interesting speech on the occasion of his reporting a bill for modifying the warehousing system. He concludes this speech as follows:

"It will perhaps be charged that the purpose of this bill is to diminish imports. I admit the charge and defend the purpose. We want less of the products of foreign labor, and more constant employment for our own. We want to bring the aggregate of our imports below the sum of our exports. We have sent abroad during the eleven months of the fiscal year up to May 31, \$64,486,258 in gold, besides a shipment, probably of twice that amount, in the interest-bearing bonds of the Government, States, and corporations, in the settlement of trade balances.

"I do not know of the exact shipments of gold for June, but from unofficial reports judge it will be as heavy as in May, when it reached the enormous amount of \$10,668,712, or an aggregate of over seventy-five million dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30. The entire estimated annual production of the precious metals in the United States and Territories is thus swept away, while we are still adding to our foreign indebtedness at the rate of perhaps \$200,000,000 per annum.

We are constantly talking of a return to specie payments; and there is scarcely a member of this House who has not presented a plan to accomplish that desired end, and yet the price of gold continues to advance, and rules higher now than three years ago.

"The necessities of the country demand some practical legislation in the interest of our own people, and especially such legislation as will tend to check over importations, employ our own labor, and prepare the way to a safe return of specie values. In the absence of a thorough revision of the revenue laws, looking to greater protection, and the suppression of frauds on the Government, the passage of this simple and brief bill will do some good, and I trust there will be no opposition to it."

We have already alluded to the enterprise and efficiency of Mr. Morrell as a member of the House. No man there works harder in the committees; and when he speaks, he is listened to with attention, it being well understood that he is master of the subjects on which he dilates. He affords a most gratifying illustration of the benefit which the public councils may derive from the practical and experienced views of a man actively interested in business affairs.

Mr. Morrell is one of those men who have made their own way in life by the force of a strong and honorable character. His countenance affords a vivid insight into his disposition and purposes, and shows him to be a man who thinks for himself. He is a man whose plans are always the result of reflection and sound practical judgment; and when once adopted, are carried forward and executed with unswerving resolution. Probably in the whole country there is no person with a clearer head for a great business enterprise, and certainly there are none having more general information regarding the iron interest, banking, and the political affairs of the nation. Almost entirely self-taught, he has enriched his mind by the lessons of observation and experience, which have been afforded in his varied career as a merchant, manufacturer, banker, and statesman.



John A. Nicholson

JOHN A. NICHOLSON.



JOHN A. NICHOLSON was born in Laurel, Sussex County, Delaware, November 17, 1827. His father and grandfather were natives of Delaware, and his mother a native of Virginia. He was educated, in part, at an academy in Nelson County, Virginia, where his parents were residing at the time. In 1843 he entered Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, but left at the end of two years, without graduating.

In 1847, Mr. Nicholson entered on the study of law, with Hon. Martin Bates, of Dover, Delaware, and was admitted to the bar in 1850. He selected Dover as his place of residence, having previously married Miss Angelica K. Reed, of the same town.

In 1850, he was appointed, by Governor Ross, Superintendent of the free schools of that county. After practicing law a few years, he devoted his time principally to general literature, leading a very quiet and secluded life, and repeatedly refusing to be a candidate for any office.

Yielding at length to the solicitations of friends, Mr. Nicholson was elected in 1864 to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was re-elected to the Fortieth Congress, serving in the former on the Committee on Elections, and in the latter on the Committee on Appropriations.

In politics, Mr. Nicholson has always been Democratic, and was a member of the National Democratic Committee, appointed in 1864.

The style of Mr. Nicholson, as a speaker and writer, is chaste and forcible; but by reason of his retired habits he is inclined to shrink from an active participation in debate.

Pending the resolution to impeach the President, Mr. Nicholson

made a speech against a measure which he characterized as "a foul wrong," and "the climax of those revolutionary acts which have marked the existence of the Republican party." After contending that the President could "only be impeached for a knowing and willful violation of the Constitution or a law in pursuance thereof," he argued that the Tenure-of-Office Act was not such a law. "For the first time," said he, "in the history of the country has the Congress of the United States stooped from its high position to legislate directly for the interests of their party. With the powers of Congress they combine the spirit and ethics of a party convention. Their course to this end has been systematic since the surrender of Lee gave us hope of peace and union again. It was this instinct which first prompted them to refuse to restore the South to her place in the Union, knowing, as they did, that the vote of those States would be given against the Radical candidate for President; and they had not the hardihood, at that time, to hint even at the disfranchisement of whites and the enfranchisement of negroes to accomplish their purpose. Now their purpose is changed. Despairing of carrying more than half-a-dozen of the Northern States at the next election, they have turned to the South, and by the most arbitrary, cruel, and barbarous legislation that ever disgraced a civilized government, they have made of her a moral monster fit for their embrace. Everything that endangers the success of their scheme excites them to frenzy. They have now, Cortez-like, burned their ships, and their struggle is becoming desperate.

"If the policy which is called the President's policy, but which is also the policy which common sense, justice, honor, and self-interest would have dictated, had been carried out in 1865, every scar made by the war would now have been healed, trade and commerce would now have been flourishing, the South would have been pouring her millions into the national Treasury, taxation would have been so diffused as scarcely to be felt; but the blessing of a Radical President could not be conferred upon us in that condition of things."



Wm. H. Woodard

GEORGE W. WOODWARD.



AFTER a distinguished career and a successful public life in another field, Judge Woodward appears for the first time among national legislators as a member of the Fortieth Congress. He was born in Bethany, Pennsylvania, March 26, 1809. His family had settled in Pennsylvania before the Revolution. His two grandfathers formed part of a colony from Connecticut, which had occupied in 1774 the valley of the Wallenpaupack. After the massacre of Wyoming in July, 1778, the colonists were driven from their homes by the Tories and Indians. The women and children took refuge in the counties of Orange and Dutchess, in the State of New York, while most of the men of the colony enlisted in the Revolutionary army. Jacob Kimble, the maternal grandfather of Judge Woodward, commanded a company in the Connecticut line throughout the war. After the close of the war, in 1783, the survivors of the settlers returned to the valley of the Wallenpaupack, a region then remote and obscure, where they labored to re-establish their homes and retrieve their fortunes.

The father of Judge Woodward was an industrious farmer, who struggled for years against poverty and adversity to maintain a large family. Before the birth of George, who was the youngest son, an event occurred which changed the entire fortunes of the family. As the father was returning from his work one evening, he fell upon his scythe and severed his hand from his body. By this accident Mr. Woodward was prevented from following his former pursuits, and was confined for several months while recovering from his wound. He occupied the time in reading, and improving his mind. On his

recovery, he engaged in teaching school ; and having the confidence of his neighbors and fellow-citizens, he was soon chosen to public office. At the birth of his son George, he was Sheriff of the county of Wayne, and subsequently became Associate Judge, an office which he held until his death in 1829.

In his childhood, young Woodward attended such schools as could be afforded in a community of struggling and straitened settlers. He subsequently enjoyed the instructions of an elder brother, who was for the time an accomplished mathematician, and gave his pupil the foundation of a thorough mathematical education.

As soon as he attained a suitable age, he was placed at Geneva, New York, in the institution now known as Hobart College. Here he was the classmate of Horatio Seymour, and other young men who have since become distinguished in public life. From Geneva he was transferred to the Wilkesbarre Academy, in the county of Luzerne, in Pennsylvania—an institution which offered to its pupils rare advantages for acquiring thorough classical, mathematical, and scientific knowledge.

Ending his academical pursuits in 1829, young Woodward entered the office of the Hon. Garrick Mallery, as a student-at-law. In 1831, Mr. Mallery having been appointed Judge of a Judicial District, Mr. Woodward, who had been admitted to the bar in the preceding year, occupied his office, and succeeded to his business. His success at the bar was very rapid and very great. Within a very short time he was in full practice in the counties of Luzerne, Wayne, Pike, Munroe, and Susquehanna, and in the Supreme Court of the State.

In politics, Mr. Woodward was a member of the Democratic party. In 1836, he was elected a delegate to the Convention called to reform the Constitution of Pennsylvania. Its numbers included the most prominent leaders at the bar, judges who have been long upon the bench, and gentlemen who had held high positions in the State and National Governments. Mr. Woodward was one of the youngest members of the Convention, yet he took a prominent and influential part in the debates. He advocated a limitation of the tenure of

office in the Judges of the State, who had been appointed for life. He favored a modification of the Constitution, by which the right of suffrage was limited to the *white* inhabitants of Pennsylvania.

At the close of the Constitutional Convention, Mr. Woodward resumed the practice of his profession. In April, 1841, he was appointed by the Governor to the office of President Judge of the Fourth Judicial District. He discharged the duties of his office with great energy and ability for a term of ten years.

In 1844, a vacancy occurring in the United States Senate, by the appointment of Mr. Buchanan to a place in the Cabinet of President Polk, Judge Woodward received the nomination of the caucus of Democratic members who composed a majority of the legislature. By the rules regulating the action of political parties, Judge Woodward was entitled to an election, but a sufficient number of Democrats deserted their nominee to secure the election of Simon Cameron.

In March, 1845, a vacancy occurring in the Supreme Court for the Circuit composed of the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, President Polk nominated Judge Woodward to fill the vacancy. The fact that this nomination had been made without consultation with Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, in connection with the hostility of Mr. Cameron, led to the defeat of Judge Woodward in the Senate.

On the expiration of his term of office as President Judge of the Fourth Judicial District, in April, 1851, he resumed the practice of law in his former office at Wilkesbarre. In May, 1852, he was appointed, by Governor Bigler, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. By a constitutional amendment adopted in 1850, this office had become elective, and the appointment therefore extended only to the first of December, 1852. He was nominated as the Democratic candidate, by the convention of the party, by acclamation. He now, for the first time, was able to submit his merits and his claims to the decision of the people of the State. It was found in his case that the man who is the last choice of the political managers, is the first choice of the mass of the voters. In the county of Luzerne, where

he had spent his life, and in several adjacent counties, where he was intimately known, he received a larger vote than had ever been cast for a candidate in a contested election. He was elected by a majority in the State, which attested most emphatically his professional eminence, and his integrity of character.

Few men in the country have occupied the Bench for a longer period than Judge Woodward. As a Judge, he soon reached a reputation deservedly high. He possessed unusual powers of concentration, and great capacity for labor. His style of discussing legal questions is singularly forcible, distinct, and clear. Avoiding all affectation of fine writing, he says of a case just that which it is necessary to say in English that is always simple, accurate, and elegant. There are no opinions in the Pennsylvania Reports more intelligible to plain and unlearned men than those of Judge Woodward, and there are none more able, thorough, and exhaustive.

In 1863, Judge Woodward received the unsolicited nomination of the Democrats of Pennsylvania as their candidate for Governor. Restrained by his judicial commission from taking an active part in the canvass, he encountered all the opposition the national administration could make, which at that stage of the war was considerable. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, he received 254,171 votes, the largest number which up to that time had ever been polled for any gubernatorial candidate. Many well-informed politicians believed then, and still believe, that this was a majority of the votes cast; but a majority of 15,335 was certified to his competitor, Governor Curtin, and no scrutiny was ever instituted to test this return.

As Mr. Woodward's term of office as Judge of the Supreme Court would expire in December, 1867, he gave notice as early as the preceding January, that he should decline a re-election. In June, 1867, he went to Europe, and was absent several months. Soon after his departure, the death of Mr. Denison occurred, who had been elected to represent the Twelfth District of Pennsylvania in the Fortieth Congress. Judge Woodward was nominated to fill the vacancy, and was elected before his return from Europe.

Taking his seat with the minority in the Fortieth Congress, in November, 1867, Judge Woodward at once took a high position as a clear, calm, and logical defender of the principles and policy of the Democratic party.

His speeches in Congress have received marked attention from men of all parties. We have space for only a brief extract, which forms the conclusion of an impromptu speech delivered by Judge Woodward in the House of Representatives, March 27, 1868, on the President's veto of the bill withdrawing the McCordle case from the Supreme Court :

" Here is an American citizen with the vested right to the judgment of that court, about, according to common rumor, to obtain favorable judgment, when the legislative department rushes in and takes the case out of the hands of the judicial department. It decides the case against the citizen. * * * This law prostrates all distinction between the coördinate branches into which the political power of this country was divided. It is no longer true that judicial power belongs exclusively to the judicial department. It is henceforth true that the Legislature may invade the courts and stop the exercise of judicial power in proper judicial cases. In other words, Sir, the first principles of the Government under which we live are trampled under foot by this law. The Constitution, which we have sworn to support, is utterly disregarded by this law. Every man must judge for himself how that oath is to be performed, but I lay the Constitution across the path the majority are pursuing, and I remind them of their oaths.

" ' If reason hath not fled from man to brutish beasts,' I would like to see these positions either confessed or answered. Powers are distributed; the judicial power (all of it) belongs to the courts; jurisdiction in McCordle's case had attached; the court were advising on the judgment to render; the Legislature claims to take the case out of court, and thus in effect to decide it against McCordle.

" Mr. Speaker, this is not the only liberty we have taken with the Supreme Court of the United States. At this session we passed a

law which requires two-thirds of the judges of that court to unite in declaring any act of Congress unconstitutional. The Senate has not passed that bill, and I trust it never will. I took the liberty to express my repugnance to it when it passed the House. I am glad the Senate has refrained from passing it. Why? Because it is a legislative interference with judicial functions. That is my great objection to that law, as it is to this one.

"I look upon any interference on the part of Congress with the proper judicial tribunals not only as a great indelicacy, but a most dangerous precedent. We have found it so in stripping the Executive of his proper constitutional duties. The Tenure-of-Office act and several other laws, which place the Executive in the power of his subordinates, have virtually destroyed the executive power of this Government. The legislation to which I have referred, and this bill, are acts directed at the judicial department, and what do they portend? What are the people of the country to understand from such legislation? Just this; that the legislative department of the country is determined to consolidate all the powers of the Government into its own hands; determined to consolidate this Government into a grand legislative oligarchy, the country to be governed by the Legislature, and the Legislature to be governed by a caucus, and the caucus to be governed by—the Lord knows who; for I do not know who will succeed my venerable friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] as ruler of this House when he shall depart. I hope he will be a man as wise and good as he is.


"Sir, if this legislation means anything, it means just this: that the President shall not exercise the constitutional functions of his office, the judges shall not exercise the constitutional powers vested in them, but the legislative will shall be supreme; which I say is a repeal of the Constitution of the United States, and a consolidation of all the political power of this Government into the hands of a legislative oligarchy to be wielded I know not by whom."

Spontaneously re-nominated in the fall of 1868, Judge Woodward was elected by an increased majority to the Forty-first Congress.



Ignatius Donnelly

IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

GNATIUS DONNELLY was born in Philadelphia, November 3, 1831. He received an academical education, graduating at the Central High School of his native city. In 1849, he commenced the study of law with the Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster, who in a recently published letter describes his former pupil as "a man of uncommon energy, skill, and strict integrity." Having completed his law studies, in 1853, Mr. Donnelly devoted much time and attention to furthering the interests of the Union Land and Homestead Association, of which he was Secretary. Upon Mr. Donnelly's removal from Philadelphia, a card was published in the daily papers by order of the Association attributing its success to his exertions, and expressing the best wishes of the members for his prosperity.

In 1857, Mr. Donnelly emigrated to Minnesota. Just before his removal to the West he left the Democratic party, with which he had been identified, and became a Republican. As the State of Minnesota was at that time Democratic, and the County where he went to reside was two to one Democratic, his change of party seemed unfavorable to any political aspirations he might have possessed. The result, however, proved more fortunate than the most sanguine hope could have anticipated. So favorable an impression did he make, that in 1859, two years after his arrival in the State, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Minnesota. In 1861, he was re-elected to the same office. In 1862, he was elected a Representative in the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses. In 1868, Mr. Donnelly was nominated for re-election to the Forty-first Congress, but another Republican candidate entering

the field, both were beaten by a Democrat. The independant Republican candidate gave as one reason for opposing the re-election of Mr. Donnelly that he was "a candidate for the United States Senate, and surely had no good demand on the party to elect him to the House of Representatives merely as a stepping stone to the Senate, and to enable him the better to control votes in the contest."

Mr. Donnelly has been an active and able member of the House, and his acts and speeches evince not only ability and energy, but are strongly marked by patriotic and philanthropic views. Among other speeches of his delivered in the Thirty-eighth Congress, was one on the "Reform in the Indian System," from which we present one or two brief selections:

"Let it not be said that the nation shall advance in its career of greatness regardless of the destruction of the red man. There is room enough in the world, thank God, for all the races he has created to inhabit it. Thirty million white people can certainly find space somewhere on this broad continent for a third of a million of those who originally possessed the whole of it. While we are inviting to our shores the oppressed races of mankind, let us at least deal justly by those whose rights ante-date our own by countless centuries. It is the destiny of the white man to overrun this world; but it is as plainly his destiny to carry in his train the great forces which constitute his superiority, civilization, and Christianity. We are exhibiting, to-day, the unequalled spectacle of a superior race sharing its noblest privileges with the humblest of mankind, and lifting up to the condition of freedom and happiness those who, from the date of time, have been either barbarians or slaves. * *

"How shall the Indian—a nomad, a hunter, a barbarian—compete on the same soil, and under the same circumstances, in the great struggle for life with the civilized white man? Civilization means energy, industry, acuteness, skill, perseverance. Barbarism means indolence, torpidity, ignorance, and irresolution. How can the two be brought together, and the inferior not fall at once a sacrifice to the rapacity of the superior? This is the problem before us.

"The Government must interpose its merciful protection between weakness and power. It is doing so in the case of the black man; let it deal as fairly by the red man. Without action by this Government, a thousand years would have left the slave of the South still a slave. Under wise and just laws he will swell at once the power of the nation, increase its resources, and adorn it, in time, with great names and honored services. We cannot afford to be unjust to any portion of mankind."

On the 7th of May, 1868, Mr. Donnelly made a speech in favor of a bill to prevent the further sale of public lands, except as provided for in the pre-emption and homestead laws. From this speech we make the following extracts:

"The first settler is the corner-stone of all future development; the entire structure of society and government must rest upon the foundation of his labors. His work shall last till doomsday. He first unites the industry of man to the capabilities of the fertile earth. The tide of which he is the forerunning breaker, shall never recede—'Ne'er feel returning ebb, but keep due on'—until the wilderness is densely populated; until every foot of land, however intractable, is subdued; until the factories cluster thickly in great knots upon every falling stream; until cities, towns, and villages dot the whole land; until science, art, education, morality, and religion bear the world forward to a development far beyond the furthest ken of the imagination, into that unknown future of the human race which we cannot prefigure even in our dreams.

"How many beautiful traits gather around these homes snatched from the wilderness? How many fair women and noble men have seen the first light of heaven through the chinks of the log-house? How many heroes worthy to be embalmed in perpetual history have grown up in sturdy independence of the forest and prairie? By the side of such men the denizens of your cities are a dwarfed race. It needs pure air, pure sunshine, pure food, and the great stormy winds of heaven to produce the highest types of the human family.

and to give to them that inflexible grain which is the first constituent of great characters.

"Consider for one instant the part performed by the people of the West in the suppression of the rebellion. Their share of the great work was well done. Wherever they advanced, they overcame the rebellion as they overcame the wilderness; they hewed it down, they out-worked it, they chopped it to pieces, they overwhelmed it with energy and industry, they bridged it, they corduroyed it, they blazed and burned it out of existence. The men whom nature in all its hard and stubborn moods could not resist, made easy victory over their misguided fellow-citizens fighting for slavery and against liberty and law.

"They were types of thousands and tens of thousands of men through all the regions from which they came—the great West: quiet, unpretending men, steadfast and earnest, patiently fulfilling the appointed work which God has given them to do.

"This nation needs more of such men. We must cherish the institutions which have produced them. Their price is richer than rubies. They are the salt of a nation. Some one said to Croesus when he showed him his treasures: "But if one should come along with more iron, he would take all this gold." The prosperity of a people rests upon its manhood; the gold can only repose upon the iron. Without this a nation is but a conglomerate of sordidness and sensuality—a mixture of clay and brass, which must fall to pieces the moment a strong hand is laid upon it.

"Now, what is the root of all this? It is the pioneer driving his plow for the first time into the surface of the wilderness. The whole structure rests upon the occupaney and ownership of the land by the individual. Hence follow independence, self-respect, and all the incentives to labor; hence industry, intelligence, schools, society, development—not the hot-house development of the towns, but sturdy, healthy development, which has its roots in the earth, which expands in the family circle, and which brings strength and power to the best traits of human nature."



Leonard Myers

LEONARD MYERS.



LEONARD MYERS was born near Attleborough, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Nov. 13, 1827. Here the first ten years of his life were passed, after which his parents removed to Philadelphia. After receiving a liberal education, he entered the profession of the law, became solicitor for two municipal districts of that city, and in 1854, upon the consolidation of the Districts into one municipality, he digested the ordinances applicable to the new government, under authority of City Councils. Previous to this he frequently contributed articles to the magazines of the day, and translated several works from the French. In 1862, he was elected a member of the Thirty-eighth Congress, from the Third District of Pennsylvania, and was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses. In October, 1868, again unanimously re-nominated by the Republicans of his District, he was defeated by a small majority which bore such evident marks of being fraudulent, that he at once took the testimony to prove himself legally elected and justly entitled to a seat in the Forty-first Congress.

In June, 1865, Mr. Myers delivered in Philadelphia a memorial address on Abraham Lincoln, which was heard with marked attention, and favorably noticed by the press throughout the country. The following extracts will give some idea of its merits :

“Great occasions call forth the qualities of true greatness. Genius frequently culls opportunities for itself, but adversity is the crucible which tries men ; and when the storm comes and the waves run high, and the passengers begin to despair, the quiet faith, and bravery, and skill of him who guides the vessel through in safety, marks him distinguished among his fellow-men.

"Such an one was Abraham Lincoln. His life covering nearly all of the present century, he stands in moral grandeur the foremost man of his time.

"The past four years have been years of sad realities, of almost incredible romance, too. The stride of a century was not expected to do so much. More history has been crowded into them than will be told in tenfold their time.

"Four years ago, American slavery falsified the Declaration of American liberty; to-day that slavery is dead, and waits but the forms of burial. Four years ago, the art of war, known to us in earlier struggles, seemed to have been forgotten; now, the most war-like people of the earth, we again relapse into the pursuits of peace, secured to us by the ordeal of battle.

"Four years ago, civil strife, the cruelest test of a nation, long predicted, long warded off, had not yet fairly burst upon our hitherto fortunate land; but it came in all its fury, and with the world as spectators, some confiding, but more predicting disaster and political destruction; we have passed through the fiery furnace, not unscathed it may be, yet purified and regenerate. Republican institutions have stood the trial. The sovereignty of the people—the right of the majority to rule, asserted in the beginning, has been vindicated to the end, even through rivers of blood. The Flag was the shibboleth; but on its starry folds, in storm and sunshine, still floated 'the Union,'—'the People!'

"And all along this terrible struggle every eye was bent, every thought turned to him who was at the helm—now in doubt or despondency, now in hope and confidence.

"Remembering that a soft answer turneth away wrath, the cavil and the sneer fell harmless at his feet. With thanks for those who approved, he kept steadily onward. True as the needle to the pole, he only sought the salvation of his country, never forgetting the priceless legacy committed to his keeping, never doubting the justice of his cause or its final triumph, never taking a step backwards. And so he won the goal amid the hosannas of his countrymen. * *

"He died in the very fullness of a well-spent life, laid upon the altar of his country; just when a nation's thanks and a nation's love seemed to encircle him; when the sneer had died upon the lip, and a world had learned to know the greatness of his heart and intellect; when he had demonstrated that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and accomplished the task which he truly foreshadowed had devolved on none other since the days of Washington.

"The world contains no like record. A whole people stricken in the midst of the joy of victory and peace, to the innermost depths of grief, flags suddenly draped, the song of triumph hushed. Such sorrow never before trembled along the electric wire.

"They took him back to his home in the West, by the route which, but little over four years since, he traversed amid the shouts of a people; they laid him in the great Hall of Independence he so revered, while from the belfry above the solemn dirge floated away into the night; and ever as he was borne onward to his resting-place, through pageants of unutterable woe, millions came quietly out to gaze upon his bier, or catch a glimpse of that dear face; and women laid flowers upon his coffin, and strong men wept like children.

"Time may mellow the grief, but the gratitude of a nation will endure for ever. Those who were dear to him must be cared for by his countrymen. Above all, let his death waken us to a new life, that henceforth treason shall be branded—a crime without a name—never in another generation to disgrace the land; and when public virtue, and unsullied honor, and high principle need a synonym, let us remember Abraham Lincoln."

Mr. Myers has taken an active part in the important measures of the Congresses of which he was a member. On the 24th of March, 1866, he delivered an able speech on the "Acceptance of the Results of the War the true basis of Reconstruction," wherein he gave utterance to views several of which were adopted by the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, and embodied in their Report. He

was prominent in securing the acceptance by the Government of League Island as a naval station, delivering an effective speech on this subject in the House, on the 7th of June, 1866. On the 29th of February, 1868, he ably and eloquently advocated the impeachment of the President, giving a brief and startling review of the wrongs which entitled Andrew Johnson to a prominent position among "instances of men in high places, who in the madness and egotism of their ambition forgot their better days, and only remain as a reproach on the pages of history."

The main reliance of the President's advocates against this impeachment was upon the alleged "construction" which it was generally admitted the First Congress gave to the Constitution in regard to the power of removal by the President, and which it was said the passage of it had reversed. Mr. Myers traced the history of the legislation on this subject, and claimed that the acts of 1789-1792 and 1795, which declare how vacancies in the Departments shall be filled when the President shall remove the principal officers, were in reality *not constructions* of the Constitution, but *legislative grants* of power which could be and *had been repealed*, showing that in that First Congress "the clause was only passed in the House by a close vote, and in the Senate by the casting vote of its presiding officer—all those against it protested such was not the meaning of the Constitution, while sufficient of its supporters to have defended it, placed their vote upon the ground that they desired to confer this authority *by law*."

As a member of the Patent Committee, Mr. Myers has taken a warm interest in the inventors of the country, reporting and advocating several measures which won notice in the scientific world. In the Fortieth Congress he was also appointed on the Committee of Foreign Affairs, from which he reported and caused the passage of a Joint Resolution appealing to Turkey on behalf of the gallant but unfortunate inhabitants of Crete. In this Congress he delivered a speech favoring the purchase of Alaska, which possesses special interest. After declaring himself favorable to the purchase, and referring to the opposition to it manifested in the House, he said:

"Reject Alaska, and there is scarcely a doubt that Russia, having once determined to part with it, would sell to England, and still less doubt that England to-morrow would seize the chance of taking it off our hands. I wonder what the American people would say to such a result! If such must come, I will not be responsible for it.

"The British empire, covering us on the north from ocean to ocean, would develop a formidable rival on the Pacific to that commerce and trade which now can be ours alone. The British North American possessions, now almost land-locked on the west, hold out little promise to the settlers, and Anglo-Saxon enterprise finds no incentive to exertion. Give it this new outlet, and you build up a permanent, because prosperous, rival, which, holding half the continent, can never be dislodged. The people of the United States are in no haste, but they look forward surely to the day when the starry flag, which they have followed alike in storm and in sunshine, shall cover the continent. That day will come in its own good time. Let us not retard it as we did in settling the Oregon boundary. No consolidation of foreign empire must be allowed between these seas."

Referring to the pretended worthlessness of the territory, Mr. Myers continued :

"When we acquired Louisiana by the treaty of Paris, a croaker of that day called it 'a dreary and barren wilderness.' Yet this fertile province was divided into rich States of the Union; and its noble stream, which, with the tributaries, forms an outlet for the productions of the mighty West, has a value world-wide, for the possession of which the armies of freedom and slavery reddened its very water, now for ever dedicated to liberty.

"California was called an ill-starred purchase and bad bargain; yet this same California, laden with wealth, its cereals and fruits unsurpassed, its vines bidding fair to rival those of France and Italy, came to us in less than three years a free young State, forming the first barrier on the southwest against the extension of slavery, which led us to its conquest. The \$2,000,000,000 in gold it has added to the wealth of the world, sink into insignificance beside its geographi-

cal advantages and their development, of which no doubt the pursuit of that wealth was the instrument.

"'But,' says my friend, 'Alaska is in a bleak and northern region.' Perhaps there is no commoner error than that latitude is the controlling element of temperature. I do not pretend to be a climatologist; but it is well known that the southwest equatorial winds and thermal currents of the ocean produce on land what are known as isothermal lines; and the great hot currents which, lessened in intensity, flow against the shores of Britain and Norway, are but different directions of those which lave the coast of Alaska.

"With the fisheries which this acquisition will call into being and protect, a hardy-trained race of seamen will fit themselves to sail the ships which soon must dot the Pacific between us and Asia, exchanging the wonders of either shore, and be ready to man our vessels of war should the emergency arise. That trade is now beyond a question. American civilization has done what olden Europe failed to accomplish. It has unlocked the seclusion of China, as it is gradually doing with Japan, until its population leaps the barrier of centuries to come to our nearest border; and even to-day China chooses America to lead her to the outer world. As the Occident thus clasps the Orient, and helps it shake off the custom of ages, the world will become more luminous by the contact, even as space is forgotten in the telegraphic sympathy which thrills the old and new in the same moment. These bonds must be cemented. Alaska must be ours; and remembering that we hold our heritage in trust for posterity, let no man disdain to picture the day, distant though it may be, when over the continent of North America, from ocean to ocean, from the Arctic to the Antilles, the canopy of freedom shall cover one people, one country, and one destiny."



Wm. C. C. C.

GEORGE F. MILLER.



GEORGE F. MILLER was born May 9, 1809. His birth-place was Chilisquaque, Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. He was at an early age thrown upon his own resources, and by his personal exertions and industry succeeded in obtaining an academic education. He then commenced the study of law under James F. Linn, Esq., of Lewisburg; and after admission to the bar, commenced his profession in the same town, and succeeded in securing an extensive practice.

Mr. Miller was from the first actively interested in politics. He was an "Old Line Whig," a great admirer of Henry Clay, and a strong protectionist in favor of American industry. When the Republican party was formed, he, with a large majority of the old Whig party, joined it, and has ever since been an active member. He applied himself, however, closely to his profession, and refused to become a candidate for any office until nominated for Congress.

Mr. Miller took an active part in founding the university at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania—a literary institution which has become one of the leading colleges of the country. In June, 1848, he was elected secretary of the Board of Trustees of this institution, and served in that capacity for sixteen years.

In 1864, Mr. Miller received the Republican nomination for Congress in the Fourteenth District. He was elected by a majority of five hundred and seventeen votes over his Democratic opponent, who was a member of the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was re-elected in 1866 by a majority of nearly three times that of his former election.

In the Thirty-ninth Congress, Mr. Miller was a member of the

Committee on Roads and Canals, as also of the Committee on Expenditures of the War. In the Fortieth Congress, he was a member of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and of the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions and that of the War of 1812.

Mr. Miller is not an inactive member of the House, but gives evidence of keeping a watchful eye upon its proceedings. His speeches are, in general, brief, and marked by patriotism and good sense. We subjoin a specimen selected from his speech on Reconstruction, delivered on the floor of the House, February 13, 1867.

After noticing briefly the main provisions of the Reconstruction bill, Mr. Miller remarked that "the main arguments urged against the passage of this bill is that the proposed law is unconstitutional—that the said ten late rebellious States have organized governments, and, therefore, no power exists in Congress to extend over them martial law to take the place of the civil law. I admit, Mr. Speaker, that this extraordinary power should only be exercised in extreme cases. It is, however, a universal rule among all civilized nations, that when the civil law is not strong enough to afford ample protection, the more powerful—to wit, martial law—must be resorted to; and it is evident that these ten States present a case demanding such extreme measures. The civil governments of which we hear so much were not established by the action of Congress, but under the auspices of Andrew Johnson, without any authority delegated to him for that purpose." Then, after showing that the Constitution and laws of the United States are the supreme laws of the land, Mr. Miller proceeds to ask, "Who, then, can make the laws? Not the executive, as he possesses only the power to give or withhold his assent when bills are presented to him. It rests with Congress to pass laws; and if the executive interpose the veto power, such bills can, notwithstanding such veto, become laws if the same shall be passed by a two-third vote in each house—thus showing clearly that the executive alone had no power under the Constitution to undertake to reconstruct these ten rebel States by establishing civil governments therein, and his acts in that matter were usurpation."

When the resolutions reported by the Committee on Reconstruction for the impeachment of the President were under consideration in the House, February 24, 1868, Mr. Miller made a speech, from which we make the following extract :

“And the question presented here, Mr. Speaker, is whether Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, has been guilty of such ‘high crimes and misdemeanors,’ or high misdemeanors, as will justify the House in preferring articles of impeachment against him, and sending him to the Senate for trial. It is to be deplored that this great Republic, not yet a century old, commencing with a population of less than three millions, and now reaching thirty-seven millions, should have placed in nomination and elected a man who fills the highest office in the gift of the people, who has become (as charged) so depraved, corrupt, and defiant to the laws as to render his impeachment necessary. When we look into ancient history, and see how republics that once flourished, and were the nurses of arts and sciences, the fruitful mothers of philosophers, law-givers, and heroes, now lie prostrate under the iron yoke of ignorance and barbarism, and especially when we reflect that monarchical Governments look upon republics as a failure, and that France, though she struggled hard for a republican form of government, and shed immense quantities of blood in favor of that cause, is under the rule of an absolute monarch.

“It is enough to make us fear and tremble. But we are told by the historian, ‘That nothing is insurmountable to the unconquerable hand of liberty when backed by public virtue and the generous resolution of a brave and willing people.’ We, as a nation, must stand firm, and shrink from no duty, however painful. The highest officer of our Government is, and of right ought to be, as amenable to the Constitution and laws as any of our humblest citizens.”

Subsequently, March 2, 1868, the Committee having, in obedience to instructions by the House, reported articles of impeachment, Mr. Miller made a speech in favor of their adoption, and at the same time offered two additional articles, which, he said, “in my opinion,

save cavil; and in presenting a case of such vast importance, we ought to be cautious and allow no escape upon a mere technical objection; and especially when we can lay every charge in such a way as to meet all legal objection that might be made, it is our duty to do so."

Mr. Miller closed his speech on this occasion by saying: "The only question is as to the sufficiency of these articles, which, if approved by this House, are to be sent to the Senate, at whose bar it will devolve upon us to maintain the charges therein contained; and I trust the trial may be conducted (as I have no doubt it will) with due regard to its magnitude, so that the country and the world may see that this young Republic, whenever assailed, will vindicate its integrity, and that no officer thereof, however high, shall escape condign punishment, if guilty. And, in conclusion, let me say that I trust this great work may be entered upon with due deliberation, and that justice may be done to both the United States and the accused."



Wm. B. Allison

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.



WILLIAM B. ALLISON was born in Perry, Wayne County, Ohio, March 2, 1829. Most of his boyhood was spent upon a farm. He was educated at Alleghany College, Pennsylvania, and at Western Reserve College, Ohio. He then entered on the study of law, and was admitted to practice in 1851. He continued the practice of law in Ohio until 1857, when he removed to Dubuque, Iowa. He was a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860; and, in 1861, he was a member of the Governor's staff, rendering essential service in raising troops for the war.

In 1862, Mr. Allison was elected from Iowa a Representative to the Thirty-eight Congress, and re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congresses. He has served on the Committee on Public Lands, Roads and Canals, also on Ways and Means, Mines and Mining, and Expenses in the Interior Department.

The Congressional records show Mr. Allison to be vigilant and faithful in his duties in the House. His speeches evince sobriety and care, at the same time that they display ability and fearlessness in the advocacy of his views.

Mr. Allison's speech, June 4, 1868, on the "Internal Tax Bill," while it evinces much ability, presents facts and statements of special interest to the country at large. The following extracts are selected in illustration:

"Mr. Chairman, I fear we must resort to something more perfect if we would check the frauds on the revenue which exist in this country to-day. I beg leave to differ with gentlemen on this side of the House as to the cause of these great frauds. I do not attribute their

commission to the division of responsibility. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue is a bureau officer under the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury is to-day the responsible head of the Department, charged with the collection of the revenue of the country. It is no defense for him to say that he does not know of the existence of these frauds. Is it not enough for him to know that there are produced in this country at least seventy-five million gallons of distilled spirits, and that but seven million gallons pay the tax during the fiscal year about to close? Is it to be said that the responsible head of the revenue department—the Secretary of the Treasury—does not know that the reason why this revenue is not collected is because of frauds in his Department, and that he must wait for his subordinate officer to bring those frauds to his knowledge?

“I say the responsibility rests to-day upon the Secretary of the Treasury, unless he can shift that responsibility upon the President of the United States, where I believe it legitimately and properly belongs. While I give the Secretary of the Treasury credit for integrity of purpose and purity of character, he is unfortunately too much of a partisan, or is not willing to assume the responsibility which is within his power and control. Many of these revenue agents belong to what my colleagues on the Committee of Ways and Means and others here donominate “the whisky ring.” They are constantly roaming over the country and forming leagues, by which the Government is defrauded. * * *

“These men are not removed from office. I have been told that the Secretary of the Treasury makes representations to the President of the United States; but I have yet to learn that a single man who has been engaged in these fraudulent practices has been removed by the President of the United States. Hence, Mr. Chairman, I think the chief reason for these frauds is inherent in our present political situation, and that we never can get rid of them except in one way, that is by having harmony in the administration, and harmony in legislation, and administration and legislation on the side of the Government.”

On the 29th of February, 1868, the House having under consideration the Articles of Impeachment, as reported from the Committee, Mr. Allison sustained them in a speech of which the following is an extract :

“ The President by the Constitution is especially enjoined to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and he is therefore not only bound, as is every other citizen of the Republic, to observe the laws that may be passed from time to time, but has the higher duty imposed upon him of seeing to it that every citizen obeys the laws ; and if he can set at defiance this law, he may with equal propriety disregard any law that may be found upon the statute-books, and set up in defense that he regards the law as unconstitutional. The very nature of the executive office requires him to obey the law, as it is involved in the executive authority conferred upon him by the Constitution, and as such executive officer he is bound to execute the laws, whatever may be his individual opinion as a citizen with reference to their constitutionality ; and a failure on his part to execute any law not declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, is to violate his oath of office, which compels him to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

“ When laws are duly made and promulgated, they only remain to be executed. No discretion is submitted to the executive officer. It is not for him to deliberate and decide upon the wisdom, expediency, or constitutionality of the law ; that power he has exhausted when he returns a bill, with his objections, to the House in which it originated. What has been once declared to be law under all the cautious forms of deliberation prescribed by the Constitution, ought to receive a prompt obedience ; and a failure to obey in the President should be regarded as a high misdemeanor in office.”

After having referred particularly to the President's violation of the Tenure-of-Office Act, Mr. Allison concluded as follows :

“ But, Mr. Chairman, this is but one link in a long chain of usurpations on the part of the President. It is but a chapter (I hope the last) in the history of a great conspiracy, begun by the President in


December, 1865, and continued in perseveringly to the present moment, to turn over the Government of at least ten States, if not of the whole country, to the enemies of the Republic.

"It is possible the first act by which he has brought himself within the provisions of a criminal statute, but only one of many instances in which he has used the powers of his high office to thwart the will and judgment of the people. He has attempted to usurp to himself the absolute control of the rebel States, and has sought by every means possible to thwart the execution of the humane laws passed for their restoration to the Union. Under his guidance, life, liberty, and property in those States have been put in jeopardy; and the spirit of rebellion, though dormant, is as strong as during the war, all because this spirit has in him an advocate. Shielded and protected and powerful, because he happens to hold the Presidential office, he has tried in various ways to secure the Army to sustain him; and foiled in every way, under the forms of law he now seeks to wrest it by force, thereby seeking to place the War Department and the Army under the control of a weak, irresolute old man, who will do his bidding. In the meantime every material interest of the country is suffering, because this man persists in retaining in office men who are utterly unworthy of place. The country wants peace, and peace it cannot have while this criminal remains in office. If we allow this last act or acts of usurpation to pass without applying the peaceful constitutional remedy, we may naturally expect that these usurpations will continue, until republican government itself will be destroyed, and upon its ruins a dictatorship established in the interest of the worst enemies of liberty and law."



18 Mr Boyer

BENJAMIN M. BOYER.

 BENJAMIN M. BOYER was born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, January 22, 1823. He was for some time a student of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pennsylvania; but afterwards graduated at the University of Pennsylvania. He read law at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, under the instruction of the late Judge Reed, and was admitted to the bar at that place. He began the practice of law, however, in his native county, for which he was District-Attorney from 1848 to 1850. Here he successfully pursued his profession, having several times declined judicial stations.

In politics, Mr. Boyer was a Whig until the dissolution of the Whig party, when he associated himself with the Democracy. In 1856, he voted for James Buchanan for President, against John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate, and since that date has always acted with the Democratic party.

In 1860, Mr. Boyer was an active supporter of Judge Douglas for the Presidency, and aided in establishing a campaign newspaper called the *National Democrat*, which was the organ of the Douglas Democracy of his county during the Presidential canvass of that year, and of which he was, until after the election, the principal editor.

Mr. Boyer, previously to the breaking out of the Southern rebellion, advocated conciliatory measures. But after the war had actually begun, he was an active and earnest advocate of the suppression of the rebellion by force of arms. In addresses to the people, of all parties, at various public meetings, as well as in communications through the press, he urged the energetic support of the Government, and the prompt enlistment of men.

Twice during the war, when Pennsylvania was invaded by the rebels, he raised a company of volunteers for the emergency, and, as their captain, served with them in the field, by which service he contracted an illness which nearly terminated his life.

In 1864, Mr. Boyer was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was re-elected in 1866. He has maintained with zeal and ability the usual Democratic view of the prominent questions which have come before that body.

In the Fortieth Congress, March 13, 1867, a joint resolution being under discussion in the House "for the relief of the destitute in the Southern and Southwestern States," Mr. Boyer said, "I trust that this joint resolution will be adopted; that it will be passed promptly, and with unanimity. I am not deterred from supporting it by the reasons given by the gentleman from Indiana, based upon the fact that those who are to be recipients of this bounty are the families of rebels, nor by the arguments of the two gentlemen from New York, that this fund is to be distributed through the Freedmen's Bureau. * * If the channel which is provided in this resolution for the distribution of the fund be objectionable, the answer is that it is the only channel immediately available for the purpose. If gentlemen on this side of the House are opposed to the Freedmen's Bureau, let them not object to its being converted into an instrumentality of usefulness and mercy. * * While we are talking, some of our countrymen at the South are gasping, it may be, in the agonies of death for want of the food which we are asked, out of our abundance, to bestow upon them. The Freedmen's Bureau, if it honestly distributes this fund, is the very best agency by which it can be dispensed, because it is already organized and in actual operation.

In the second session of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Boyer was a member of the Select Committee to investigate the New Orleans riots, and made the minority report upon that subject.

In the Fortieth Congress he was perhaps the most prominent and zealous as a defender of the President, than any other member of the minority. His speeches in defense of the President were extensively

circulated by his party. The first was delivered December 17, 1867, and was published under the title of "The President and Congress—The Impeachers Impeached." "What public man," he asked on this occasion, "exercising the office of President of the United States at so critical a period, could have undergone a scrutiny like that to which Andrew Johnson has been subjected, and emerged from the ordeal more scatheless than he? During more than eight months a secret inquisition assiduously labored to convict him of something, no matter what, so it would injure him in the estimation of mankind. His persecutors were able men, armed with the power of the nation, and suspected by no man of any disposition to spare the accused. The secret history of his public acts was explored, his most private relations invaded, his personal correspondence ransacked, the revelation of his most confidential conversations in his most unguarded moments required of his friends, his domestic life investigated, his pecuniary transactions overhauled, and even his private bank accounts examined. To get evidence against him the felon's cell was visited by honorable members of Congress, and testimony solicited at the hands of convicted perjurers. Spies and detectives were employed, traps set, money expended—but all in vain. Andrew Johnson, as man and President, stands higher this day in the estimation of his countrymen than when this investigation began. I would rather take his chance for honorable and enduring fame hereafter than that of the proudest and loftiest among all his enemies, persecutors, and slanderers.

"He was not the President of my choice. I did not vote for him. But I recognize in him a fearless defender of the Constitution, and as such I honor and defend him. As such, too, he will be remembered and honored by his countrymen when the political strife of these days shall be over, and when his administration of public affairs shall have passed into history."

Mr. Boyer made a speech in defense of the President at the banquet of the 8th of January, at the Metropolitan Hotel in Washington, in response to one of the regular toasts—"The President of the United States." On the 22d of February, Mr. Boyer made a legal

argument defending the President against the charges preferred in the Articles of Impeachment. Two of his later speeches in the House of Representatives were extensively circulated by his party as campaign documents, viz., that on "The Admission of Alabama," delivered March 17, 1868, and that of June 30, 1868, on "The Public Expenditures." From the first we make the following extracts:


"It is only by gradual descent through many downward steps that so low a depth of legislative depravity could possibly be reached. That the government of a negro minority should, without the consent and against the protest of the people, be inflicted by an American Congress upon a State in the American Union, is a spectacle too monstrous to be endured. * * * Is this the Union which this Republican Congress promised to restore when they summoned the nation to arms for the suppression of the rebellion? Did Congress not then proclaim, and was it not the rallying cry of the Northern hosts, and the hope of all patriots, that the Union should be restored with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired? If such conditions of inferiority as are prescribed by the pending bill can be imposed by Congress upon a State in one particular, where is the limit to the absolute power of Congress to impose every other? But why should we be surprised? Is not one-third of the nation in chains, and has not this same Congress abolished the government of the people in ten States? * * * *

"For this nation there is but one way of salvation open. Abstract principles of law, justice, and morality are of little avail; and against the inexorable tyranny of party discipline it has been our sad experience to see the judgments and consciences of the more moderate men of the dominant party oppose but a feeble resistance. It is the people only who can arrest the usurpations which threaten to overwhelm and subvert the institutions of our country. And when we of the minority, who are so powerless in this Hall, are permitted to speak, we have no other resort than to appeal as best we can to that mighty audience outside the walls of this Capitol, who can, if they will, still save the Republic."



J. W. McClurg

JOSEPH W. McCLURG.

 JOSEPH W. McCLURG was born in St. Louis County, Missouri, February 22, 1818. He was educated at the Miami University, Ohio, and subsequently spent two years in teaching in Louisiana and Mississippi. In 1841, he went to Texas, where he was admitted to the bar, and became Clerk of a Circuit Court. In 1844, he settled as a merchant in Missouri. At the outbreak of the civil war, he suffered severe losses at the hands of the rebels, and abandoning his business, served in the army for a time as Colonel of Cavalry. He was a member of the Missouri State Convention of 1862, and was in that year elected a Representative from Missouri to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and was re-elected in 1864, and 1866.

In the summer of 1868, Mr. McClurg having been nominated by the Republicans of Missouri as their candidate for Governor, resigned his seat in the Fortieth Congress. After an active and exciting canvass, Mr. McClurg was elected Governor of Missouri, a position which his ability and honesty eminently fitted him.

On the 28th of January, 1868, the subject of "Southern Land Grants" was before the House, comprised in the bill declaring forfeited to the United States certain lands granted to aid in the construction of railroads in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida.

In the debate on this subject, Mr. McClurg showed very conclusively from the testimony of competent witnesses, that nearly all the officers and stock-holders of those railroads were disloyal during the war; that the roads were voluntarily relinquished to the rebels for military purposes, and, therefore, the forfeiture to the United States of the lands that had been previously granted for building and sustaining them, was but a matter of right and justice.

In the course of his speech on the question, Mr. Clurg remarked: "The principle upon which I presume the House will act, will not be changed by any information that may be obtained. As I understand it, the principle grows out of the fact that the former States named in the bill declared themselves separated from the Government which made such munificent grants, and arrayed themselves in armed hostility to the Government.

"On this point the House needs no other testimony than the letters of blood written on every page of our country's history during the four years of desolating war. These former States erected for themselves a government and confederated together for rebellion, thus forfeiting all claim to the kind consideration of the parent Government which they in their madness attempted to destroy."

To a member expressing himself as not in favor of punishing a whole people without trial or jury, Mr. McClurg responded: "I am as desirous as any gentleman can be whose friends have invested capital in corporations controlled by rebels, knowing them to be such, and prepared, of course, to take the responsibility—I am as desirous as they can be to see the prosperity of the South return, as well as that of all portions of our common country. It is that very desire, I would say to the gentleman from Wisconsin and to others, that our common prosperity may never again be interrupted by those who attacked the life of the Union and stagnated its channels of commerce. I almost feel willing that God shall visit, as I have no doubt He will, that land with desolation, as He visited in times of old those who knew him not, until they shall return to their duty to humanity, and come out from the tombs of corruption where they have so long dwelled. And that is my answer to the gentleman from Wisconsin. When they shall have done that, and shown unmistakable signs of returned reason, sitting in their proper places by their own voluntary action, clothed in garments of loyalty, then I shall, in any legislation, be willing to treat them as loyal States; but not till then. Northern capital did not prevent them from throwing off their loyal garments, and we have no assurance it will aid in putting them on."

In the Thirty-ninth Congress Mr. McClurg was appointed Chairman of the Select Committee on the Southern Railroads, and held the same position in the Fortieth Congress. In the prosecution of the arduous duties imposed upon this Committee, a large amount of important testimony was taken. On the 7th of February, 1868, Mr. McClurg made to the House an able and elaborate report setting forth the relations which the Southern Railroads sustained to the Government, and recommending that measures be taken to prevent, so far as possible, the injury which would result from the act of the executive in returning Railroads to their rebel owners without "authority in law." From this report we make the following extract:

"While the committee have much respect for the high officials who advised restoration, they are constrained to express the opinion that, in the exercise of their magnanimous liberality in the disposal of property not their own, they lost sight of justice, and were misled by too high an estimate of the character of the enemy that had deliberately assailed the Government. It should have been borne in mind that the war of rebellion was waged to perpetuate human oppression by those who, with their ancestors, had for many years gratified that disposition to oppress that destroys all the noble sentiments and feelings of the soul. This seems to have been forgotten.

"The high standing socially, and, in time past, politically, of railroad presidents and directors, and the influence which wealth and intelligence ever give, seem to have caused sight to be lost of the enormity of the crime of treason, so much so that while the only horse of a poor, ignorant man, led into the rebellion by this very intelligence, is retained and never returned, these engines of power, this wealth amounting to one hundred and twenty-three million dollars and over, is returned to the intelligent, wealthy, and influential, whose only magnanimity had been to surrender when they could no longer fight—returned, too, before the basis had been determined upon for their return as citizens under recognized governments of States restored to the Union.

"If desiring to renew rebellion, what more in the premises could

these former enemies have desired than they have received? Roads repaired and constructed, equipped, made ready for profitable use, and returned!

"An individual would consider it blind policy to put his enraged antagonist upon his feet and restore to him his deadly weapon. It would be considered madness in a keeper to turn from the cage an untamed beast, with food administered to strengthen him for another effort to take his life.

"Is the life of the nation less precious, or maddened rebel enemies less to be dreaded? And those who regard oaths of loyalty as safeguards, would do well to remember that almost yesterday there were in the halls of Congress those who disregarded oaths, and, by concocting treason, blackened their souls with perjury.

"The policy in the past had been, with all governments, to impoverish an enemy. In the cases being considered, it has been to enrich. The policy pursued can only be justified on the ground of magnanimity and charity—charity blinded to justice; and such magnanimity can only be excused, if at all, under supposition of bewilderment growing out of the magnitude of the war, and the momentous questions connected with it and growing out of reconstruction.

"The desire for peace was laudable; but that had been conquered. The desire for general prosperity was praiseworthy, and may have shown goodness of heart; but justice and the security of after generations forbid rewards for treason."



S. F. Cary

SAMUEL F. CARY.



THE subject of this sketch is a lineal descendant of John Cary, of the Plymouth Colony. His father, William Cary, emigrated from New Hampshire to the Northwest Territory before Ohio became a State. His mother, Rebecca Fenton, was a native of the State of New York, and was a sister of Governor Fenton's father.

Samuel Fenton Cary was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 18, 1814. In the same year his father removed to a farm in the wilderness, six miles from Cincinnati. The place is now known as College Hill, and is the seat of Farmers' College, founded by Freeman G. Cary, and the Ohio Female College, established by Samuel F. Cary, two brothers who, with rare taste and public spirit, expended their patrimony in rearing these noble institutions as monuments on the paternal estate.

Young Cary was graduated at Miami University, in the class of 1835. Shortly after his graduation he entered the Cincinnati Law School, and received its honors in 1837. He was immediately admitted to practice, and at once took rank with the first young members of the Cincinnati bar. His practice rapidly increased, and when he relinquished the profession in 1845, no man of his age in the State of Ohio had a larger business, or more enviable reputation as an advocate.

Obeying his philanthropic impulses, Mr. Cary abandoned the bar, in spite of the remonstrances of his numerous admirers, and began to devote all his energies to the cause of Temperance. In behalf of this great reform, he has made more public addresses, has been heard by a greater number of persons, and has made larger contributions of time and money than any other man in the United States.

He has been repeatedly heard in all the principal cities and towns in twenty-six States, and all the British Provinces in North America. No less than 400,000 have been induced by him to sign the pledge of total abstinence, and a multitude that no man can number bless his name.

Mr. Cary early became a Son of Temperance, and in 1848 was chosen the head of the Order in North America. During the two years of his official term, he visited twenty-two States and Provinces, and the Order was more than doubled in the number of its membership. For twenty years he was the gratuitous editor of Temperance papers of large circulation, and has written several valuable tracts that have been widely distributed and read.

As early as 1840, Mr. Cary acquired a great reputation as a political speaker, and took a prominent and active part in the Harrison campaign. In every Presidential campaign since that time his services have been sought and appreciated. There is probably not a man in the United States who is his superior on the stump. During the late civil war he was indefatigable and very successful in his efforts to fill up the ranks of the Union Army.

His style of speaking is peculiarly his own. A distinguished writer has said of him that "he speaks like a Greek, with the ease, the grace, the naturalness of the ancient orators." His speeches are the happiest combination of logic, argument, wit, sarcasm, pathos, apt illustrations, and felicitous anecdotes. He plays upon the passions and feelings of an audience with consummate skill. His personage gives force to his utterances. He is five feet eleven inches in height, weighs two hundred pounds, has dark complexion, a large head, with an unusual amount of hair, large black and speaking eyes, with a full, clear, and well-modulated voice. He never becomes hoarse, never tires, and often speaks three or four hours in the open air for successive days and weeks. He uses no notes or manuscripts, and weaves in every passing incident with most happy effect.

It had with many been a matter of surprise that with the eminent talents and ability of Mr. Cary, Ohio had for so long a time failed to

avail herself of his services in the national councils. Two reasons for this have been given ; first, that his ambition did not take that direction ; and secondly, that his prominence as an advocate of a great moral reform has led political managers to imagine that he would not be an available candidate.

In the summer of 1867, the Republicans of the Second Ohio District very generally expressed a desire to have Mr. Cary as their candidate for Congress. Distrust in his availability, however, induced some of the leaders of the party to take ground against him, and the Republican Congressional Convention gave the nomination to Richard Smith, Esq., editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. Mr. Cary was induced to go before the people as an independent candidate. The city of Cincinnati was greatly excited by the contest which ensued. Mr. Cary made numerous public addresses. He avowed himself the champion of the working-men. He advocated making eight hours a legal day's work, and issuing greenbacks to replace the interest-bearing bonds of the Government. Mr. Cary receiving the votes of most of the Democrats of the District, and some of the Republicans, was elected by 959 majority.

In October, 1868, Mr. Cary was a candidate for re-election to the Forty-first Congress. Taking no part in Presidential politics, but running as the champion of the working-men, without regard to party, in a District giving 3,600 majority for Grant, he was defeated by less than 500 votes, gaining largely upon his former vote. In the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Cary took a prominent part. He opposed the impeachment of the President. In a speech of five minutes he presented his views of this subject as follows :

"If I comprehend the question, it is not whether President Johnson is a traitor to the party which placed him in power, nor whether he has prevented the reconstruction of the Southern States, responsible for the New Orleans riots, and for the assassinations of loyal men, nor whether he is a bad man generally and unfit to be trusted. We do not arraign him before the high court of impeachment on the common counts, but for an unlawful effort to rid himself of a

Cabinet Minister, or, to state the case strongly, for an open and deliberate violation of the Tenure-of-Office law. The Cabinet of the President constitute his constitutional advisers, and should obviously consist of men with whom the President can have unreserved and confidential intercourse. To force upon the President a Cabinet Minister who is openly and avowedly an enemy of his administration, and one with whom the President can have no intercourse, is manifestly so unfair and improper that no fair-minded men, not influenced by a malignant partisan zeal, can or will justify it.

"I must not be understood as impeaching the ability, integrity, and patriotism of Secretary Stanton. All these are fully established. As a War Minister, history will accord to him the first place. I doubt whether his equal has lived in any age. Deeply as we may regret a rupture between the President and his Minister of War, it did occur, and it is not our present duty to inquire who was in fault. The Senate restored Mr. Stanton to the office from which he had been removed by the President, and I do not arraign that body for their action. If, at that juncture, when Mr. Stanton was vindicated by the Senate, he had gracefully bowed himself out of the President's household, he would have had the sympathy and confidence of the people, and would have added magnanimity to his list of patriotic virtues. Either upon his own motion, or acting by the advice of others (most probably the latter), he chose to remain unbidden as a confidential adviser of the President. There has been such a manifest want of courtesy, such a persistent and dogged determination to badger and bully the President, that the people will condemn Stanton, and sympathize with, if they do not justify, the President, however much they may despise him.

"In the present aspect of the case, my desire is that the Supreme Court, our highest judicial tribunal, shall be invoked to decide the rights of the President under the Constitution, and the constitutionality of the Civil-Tenure bill. If the Supreme Court shall decide that the Civil-Tenure bill is constitutional, and that it applies to the members of the Cabinet, and that the President must have a confidential

adviser whom he never appointed, and whom he does not want, then he must submit, or I will unite with you in an effort to hurl him from his position. I would vote for this resolution if the case could not be more properly adjudicated elsewhere. We have more important work than this. A million of men and women, able and willing to work, are to-day without employment, without food, and without shelter in this land of boundless resources.

"We cannot afford to spend these precious days, these—to our constituents—very long and weary days, in deranging still more every industrial interest of the country, in settling a difficulty between the President and his Cabinet Minister, which can be more satisfactorily settled by a judicial tribunal which has been organized, under our Constitution, for this very purpose. These proceedings will plunge the whole country into still deeper distress, and paralyze still more every branch of business, and we will be deservedly held responsible for all the calamities which may follow. Mr. Speaker, I fear for the safety of the Republic, and my only hope is in the people, who are in authority over us, and in the God of nations, who will make the wrath of man to praise Him, and restrain the remainder of that wrath."

Mr. Cary's views on the financial question were clearly set forth in a speech delivered in the House, January 7, 1868, from which we make the following extracts:

"I venture the opinion that there is a great deficiency in the volume of currency. In no country in the world is the supply so small, when compared with the commerce and the various enterprises requiring money. England, according to the most judicious estimates, has twenty-five dollars per head for her inhabitants; France has thirty; while we have about thirteen dollars. Estimating greenbacks at \$370,000,000, and national bank notes at \$300,000,000, our total volume is \$670,000,000. Of this sum it may be fairly presumed there is always in the Treasury or in the banks, and not therefore available as a circulation, \$170,000,000, which leaves only \$500,000,000 with which to conduct the commerce of forty million people, scat-

tered over a continent. And where is this small amount of circulation? Little New England has more than one-fourth of it! With about one-twelfth of the population, she has one-third of the national bank monopoly. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with a population more than twice as great as New England, have but little more than one-third her money circulation; and the vast empire south of the Potomac and Ohio, and west of the Mississippi, containing two-fifths of our entire population, has been allowed one-ninth interest in the gigantic bank scheme. The city of Boston, having about one-half the population of Cincinnati, has ten times her money facilities, the former having \$40,000,000 of national bank capital, and the latter \$4,000,000,000. Even Philadelphia, the second city in the Union in population, wealth, commerce, manufactures, and enterprise, four times as large as Boston, has less than half the interest of the latter in the great monopoly. Have Boston and New England too much money? I have heard of no such complaint. If not, how must it be with thirty States and Territories with a population four times as great, with less than one-third her circulation? * *

"The way to get back to a specie basis, then, is not by contracting our currency, but by importing less goods from abroad, and sending larger installments of our production. We must encourage labor, increase production, diversify our home industries, develop our agricultural and mineral resources, and then, in spite of the money-changers and gold-gamblers of Wall Street, and \$1,000,000,000 of greenbacks, coin would approximate in value to our national circulating medium."



C. D. Hubbs¹

CHESTER D. HUBBARD.



CHESTER D. HUBBARD was born in Hamden, Connecticut, Nov. 25, 1814. In the following year, his father removed to Western Pennsylvania, and, in 1819, to Wheeling, Virginia. Here young Hubbard prepared for college, and then entered the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., where he graduated in 1840. He then returned to Wheeling, and engaged in business pursuits. He was interested in the manufacture of lumber and iron, and was for several years President of the Bank of Wheeling.

Mr. Hubbard was a Whig in politics, and, in 1852, was elected to the lower house of the Virginia Legislature, where he won esteem and confidence for a devotion to principle which was to bring him forward, in due time, to a wider field of usefulness.

During the stormy period which preceded the rebellion in Virginia, and when it not unfrequently cost a man his life to proclaim his adherence to the General Government, Mr. Hubbard was clear and outspoken. In 1861, he was elected a delegate to the Richmond Convention, which passed the ordinance of secession. To the inquiries propounded to him as to his views, and the course he would pursue in that Convention, he published a letter in the *Wheeling Intelligencer*, of which the following is an extract :

"I realize that in the present condition of affairs much will depend on the course Virginia shall adopt. If she be found faithful—and who can doubt it?—to herself and the Union, all may be saved. If she wavers, and turns her back on the work of her own hands, all is lost; and the dial of human progress goes backward, and the hopes of humanity are blasted for untold ages. Therefore, the necessity—

the stern, unbending necessity—that none but Union men, sound to the core, should be found in the approaching Convention.

“Nor can I conceive that loyalty to the Union is want of fealty to Virginia. I would despise myself, and count myself unworthy to be numbered among her sons, which has ever been my pride and my boast, if I did not feel that every pulsation and instinct of my nature beat warmly and undividedly for the welfare of our good old Commonwealth; and while I would not relinquish a single fraction of her rights, I unhesitatingly believe that every interest and every right can better be secured and maintained in the Union than out; and that disunion, so far from being a remedy for any evil, is the Pandora’s box of all evils.”

As a member of the Convention, Mr. Hubbard was positive, and resolutely determined in his opposition to all the schemes of the secessionists in that body for taking the State out of the Union. After the passage of the ordinance of secession, against which he voted, he immediately returned to his constituents in Western Virginia, and foreseeing that war was surely to follow the success of the plans of the Richmond secessionists, he urged the formation of military companies for the defense of the loyal people of the State. The companies thus formed became the nucleus of the first regiment of three months’ volunteers, and the advanced guard of loyal men who saved Western Virginia from the grasp of secession and rebellion. For his active opposition thus manifested to the measures of the secessionists, he was expelled from the Convention at Richmond—which expulsion only increased his zeal and devotion to the Union.

Mr. Hubbard was a member of the Wheeling Convention which organized the restored government of Virginia, and after the formation of the new State of West Virginia he was elected to the State Senate. Toward the close of the Senatorial term, he was proposed as a candidate for Representative in the Congress of the United States, and published a letter addressed to the Union voters of his District, setting forth his views of public policy, from which we make the following brief extract:

"Having, from the beginning, labored to make West Virginia a free State, I rejoice, to-day, that on this question we occupy no doubtful position before our sister States; and what I desire for myself, I desire for others. Slavery having been taken out of the ark of the Constitution by its friends, let it go down and perish beneath the onswelling wave of freedom. It is but retributive justice. Slavery sought to destroy the life of the nation; let it pay the forfeit with its own life. The welfare of the whole country, North and South, demands that the future policy of the National Government shall be Freedom and not Slavery. 'Wages for labor,' sustained by the declaration of Holy Scripture—'The laborer is worthy of his hire,' is the only doctrine worthy of Republican institutions, the surest guarantee of civil liberty, and the only safe basis of a Democratic Republic."

Mr. Hubbard concludes by adding, in reference to the candidacy for Representative to Congress: "I may say, in conclusion, that I do not claim any particular fitness for the position. I have had but little experience in legislation, having been trained to the business of active life rather than those studies which peculiarly qualify the statesman. Yet I love West Virginia; I glory in her high position before the country; and whether I shall be selected as your candidate or not, I shall labor for her welfare with the same untiring purpose and effort."

Mr. Hubbard was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and re-elected to the Fortieth Congress. As a speaker, Mr. Hubbard is clear and impressive, presenting his views with force and directness. As a sample of his style, we quote the following from a speech delivered by him in reply to Mr. Van Trump of Ohio, who had attacked the position of West Virginia as one of the States of the Union:

"I do not propose to enter into a discussion of any constitutional question connected with the admission of the State. It is sufficient for me to know that West Virginia has been admitted as a State by the Congress of the United States, that branch of the Government authorized by the Constitution to admit new States, and I presume the members of that Congress under took their constitutional obligations.


West Virginia has been acknowledged as a State by the executive department of the Government in all its branches. Her name has been entered on the roll of States by the Supreme Court of the United States—no Justice on that bench, so far as I know, dissenting therefrom. She has fulfilled all her constitutional obligations as a State since her admission. She furnished her full quota of soldiers for the defense of the Union—all volunteers, no drafted men among them. Can the gentleman's district say as much? She has paid her share of the direct tax, and stands as ready to-day to sustain a preserved Union as she did to defend it in its time of danger and peril.

"I know she is not a State by the consent of rebels or rebel sympathizers. I know her name is not called in Democratic convention, that it is not enrolled on Democratic banners, for she does not muster in that camp; and I am not surprised that the gentleman's ire is excited by seeing her Representatives on this floor. But I am surprised at the bitterness of invective with which she is assailed, and especially that it should come from a Representative from the State of Ohio—a State which, of all others, (I speak it in no spirit of boasting), has most reason to thank God for the loyalty of West Virginia. For four long years of fire and death, West Virginia stood between the citizens of Ohio and the destroyer. We were her wall of defense; while our fields were laid waste and desolated, theirs were rich with fruitful harvests; while our homes were left without a roof-tree by the ruthless hand of war, theirs were the abodes of peace and plenty; and yet a government and recognition among the States of the Union, secured by such earnest devotion, and won by such heroic sacrifices, must be branded as 'illegitimate,' 'conceived in sin and born in iniquity,' and that by a Representative of the people who have been most benefited by that devotion and that sacrifice. O shame, where is thy blush?"



Lewis W. Rop

LEWIS W. ROSS.

 LEWIS W. ROSS was born in Seneca County, New York, December 8, 1812. In his boyhood he removed with his father to Illinois. He was educated at Illinois College, and adopted the profession of law. In 1840 and 1844 he was elected to the State Legislature, and in 1848 he was a Democratic Presidential Elector, and in 1860 was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore Conventions. In 1861 he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, and in the following year was elected a Representative from Illinois to the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses.

Mr. Ross is active and prominent as a member of the National Legislature. As a Democrat he is outspoken and fearless, while his speeches give evidence of a mind actuated by warm impulses and strong convictions. His speech on the "Abolition of Slavery," delivered in the House, June 14, 1864, presents as fairly, perhaps, as any other, the attitude of the Democratic party at that time towards the prosecution of the war, while at the same time it exemplifies some of the more prominent mental characteristics of its author. One or two brief extracts will accordingly be presented. At the time of delivering this speech, Mr. Ross was favorable to some kind of compromise, and for arresting further war.


"We are now passing," he says, "the fiery ordeal of this malignant disease. The hectic flush mantles the cheek, the pulse beats quick and wtery; but there are still hopes, by a change of doctors and treatment, and careful nursing, the patient may survive. If I had power to reach the mind and touch the heart of the nation, I would beseech my countrymen, everywhere, North and South, to stay their hands and cease this self-destruction before it be for ever too late. Why

persist in destroying the best form of government ever devised by the wisdom, virtue, and patriotism of man? Why blot out the world's last hope of free, constitutional liberty? The despots of the Old World have no love for our free institutions and Democratic form of government; they have watched with a jealous eye our growing greatness and power; they are pleased with the manner in which we are executing a job for them which they dare not undertake themselves. If we continue to gratify them by procrastinating our civil war until our armies are destroyed and our finances collapse, they will be ready to grasp the exhausted giant by the throat, and furnish Maximilians to rule over us. I would implore the country to pause and reflect. This question of self-preservation, of maintaining our liberties and free institutions, rises infinitely above all party considerations. Save the country, though political parties crumble into atoms. * * * These suggestions in favor of an amicable adjustment will not be likely to meet the approbation of the Cabinets or their special adherents at Washington or Richmond. The first would peril the nation, with its thirty millions of Anglo-Saxons, for the supposed benefit of three or four millions of African slaves. They would extirpate slavery at whatever cost or sacrifice of blood and treasure. They would brush Federal and State constitutions out of their way like cobwebs. They would over-run and subjugate the South and exterminate the people. They would encourage servile insurrection and arm the slave against his master. They would make war on and starve non-combatants, women and children. They would devastate and desolate the land with fire and sword, and make it a howling wilderness; confiscate real and personal property; place the negro, as to civil and political rights, on an equality with the whites; execute or banish the rebel leaders; exclude all others engaged in the rebellion from the rights of citizens; place the free negroes under the control of the Secretary of War, to be worked and managed by Government overseers; keep the people in subjection by means of a standing army; and rule and govern the country by civil and military officers appointed by the President."



H. S. Washburn

HENRY D. WASHBURN.

ENRY D. WASHBURN was born in Windsor, Vermont, March 28, 1832. In the same year his father removed to Ohio, and Henry, at the age of twelve, was thrown upon his own resources. He was, at thirteen, apprenticed to a tanner, but remained in that occupation only one year: and from fourteen to twenty he was mostly engaged in attending and teaching school. Meanwhile, he commenced the study of law, and at twenty-one he entered the New York State and National Law School, from which he graduated in the same year.

Mr. Washburn then commenced practice of law at Newport, Vermillion County, Indiana. In the following year (1854) he was elected Auditor of Vermillion County, and in 1856 he was re-elected to the same office, in which he served, while continuing his law practice, until 1860, when the latter having become extensive and lucrative, he relinquished the Auditorship, and devoted himself exclusively to his profession.

On the breaking out of hostilities in 1861, Mr. Washburn was among the first in his section of the State to raise a company for service in the army. Of this company he was unanimously elected captain, and was attached to the Eighteenth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers. This regiment was, for gallantry and long and faithful service, second to no other of the many brave regiments of Indiana. August 17, 1861, the regiment left Indianapolis for St. Louis, to join in the Western campaign under General Fremont. Before its departure, however, Captain Washburn was promoted as its Lieutenant-Colonel. This regiment accompanied Fremont in his march to Springfield,

and General Hunter on his return march to Otterville. Afterwards it participated with Pope's army in the movement which resulted in the surprise and capture of a rebel camp at Milford, December 18, 1861.

In March following, the regiment took part in the battle of Pea Ridge, a hotly contested fight, in which it performed deeds of great valor, re-capturing several cannon which had been taken by the enemy, and saving an entire brigade from capture. For its gallantry the regiment received, on the battle-field, the high commendations of the general commanding. Shortly after this, Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn was promoted to the Colonelcy of the Eighteenth Regiment, and was presented, by the privates of his regiment, a beautiful sword and silver scabbard. In December, 1864, he was breveted a Brigadier-General for gallant and meritorious conduct; and in July following, was breveted Major-General.

During the war he was under command of the following officers, and participated in the battles fought by them: Gen. Fremont's hundred days campaign; Gen. Pope's Black Water campaign in Missouri; Gen. Curtis in Southwest Missouri and Arkansas, and his famous march from Pea Ridge to the Mississippi River; Gen. Davidson, S. E. Missouri; Gen. Grant's campaign in the rear of Vicksburg, and the siege of the same; Gen. Banks' Teche River and Texas Coast Expedition. He also served under Gen. Butler at Deep Bottom, Va., and under Gen. Sheridan, in the Shenandoah Valley.

In January, 1865, General Washburn was ordered to Savannah, and was assigned to the command of the Southern District of Georgia, consisting of forty-five counties. He remained in command until July 26, 1865, when the war being closed he was mustered out of the service one month afterwards. The 18th Regiment, with which he entered the service, and which he subsequently commanded, was also mustered out, and arriving at Indianapolis, was welcomed home by speeches from General Washburn, Governor Morton, and others. On the discharge of the regiment, General Washburn was the

only survivor of its original officers. As a military officer, General Washburn was among the best and most efficient that entered the service from Indiana. Among the first to enter the service of his country to put down armed treason, he was among the last to leave the service; he remained in it until the last rebel laid down his gun, and the flag of the Republic floated in triumph over all the States of the Union. The soldiers he so honorably commanded in so many battles, were among the bravest in the service, and will always cherish his name as a kind, considerate, and gallant officer.

In 1865, while in the field, General Washburn was nominated by the Republicans of the Seventh District as their candidate for Congress in opposition to Hon. D. W. Voorhees. After an exciting canvass, Mr. Voorhees was declared elected. General Washburn, however, contested the election, and having proven that he was defeated by fraudulent votes, he was admitted to a seat in the Thirty-ninth Congress. He was appointed on the Committee on Claims, of which he made a most valuable member during the remainder of his term.

As a member of this Committee he took an active part in opposition to what was known as the "Iron Clad Bill," which had already passed the Senate. This bill appropriated several millions of dollars to the projectors and builders of iron-clad vessels used in the navy during the late war. When the Special Committee of Five to examine into the condition of Southern military railroads was raised, he was appointed one of its members, and as such traversed many of the Southern States in search of facts and evidence. Before the close of the session he prepared and introduced a most elaborate and thoroughly digested bill for the reconstruction of the Southern States on a sound loyal basis, giving the loyal people of these States the power to form State governments, but subjecting all their legislation to the approval of Congress. He took a deep interest in all legislation affecting the interests of soldiers of the late war.

In the spring of 1866, General Washburn was re-nominated by the Republicans of his District for the Fortieth Congress, and was elected by a majority of 513 votes. In this Congress he was continued

on the Committee on Military Railroads, and, in addition, placed on the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Pensions for the Soldiers of the War of 1812. Early in the session, as a member of the Pension Committee, he introduced "a bill granting pensions from date of discharge," also, "a bill providing for paying pensions in coin." March 19, 1867, he introduced a resolution declaring that in any future system of funding our national securities, the right to tax for municipal and State purposes should be directly granted.

In July of the same year he moved the appointment of a special committee on bounties. The committee was raised, and he was made its chairman. Since then he has made the subject of bounties a specialty, and has introduced many reforms in the payment of the same.

In March, as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Military Affairs, he reported to said committee, and afterwards to the House, a general bounty bill, granting to all soldiers eight and one-third dollars per month for every month served, deducting all bounties previously paid. As a member of the Committee on Pensions he assisted in framing, and was instrumental in securing the passage through the House of a bill granting bounties to the soldiers of the war of 1812.

Besides these legislative labors, General Washburn has made several speeches in Congress which have given him reputation as a skillful debater. He is a popular orator on the stump, and has participated in the political campaign of several States with much acceptance and success. Of a recent speech of his at Keene, N. H., a Boston paper said:

"General Washburn held the undivided attention of the crowded assembly for nearly three hours, in a speech full of interesting matter, sound reasoning, and thrilling eloquence. It was one of the best specimens of Western oratory, and universally pronounced to be the most powerful speech which has been made in Keene during the present political campaign. Gentlemanly in his address and language, he wields a weapon keen as a Damascus blade. He was well known by the Boys in Blue as a brave and efficient commander on the field of battle during the rebellion, and he is equally efficient in the forum as in the field."

THOMAS W. FERRY.



MICHIGAN is eminent among her sister States for the enterprise and intelligence of her people. Her enviable position is partly due to the energetic character of the emigrants from New England who formed many of the early settlements.

In 1822 Rev. William M. Ferry emigrated from Massachusetts to Michigan, and established the Mackinaw Mission, which was very successful under his management, until it was terminated by the removal of the Indians further west.

Thomas W. Ferry, son of the pioneer missionary, was born at Mackinaw, June 1st, 1827.

The father, on the termination of his mission at Mackinaw, made an extended tour of observation to determine where he should make his future home. He visited Chicago, then only a military outpost, and many other places, and finally determined to locate at Grand Haven, Michigan. He established his family in the first frame-house built in that now large and prosperous city.

Possessed of great physical power, energy of mind, and strength of will, the pioneer preacher turned his attention to developing the material resources of the region. He immediately began operations in the lumber business, which before his death reached great proportions. With the aid of his four sons, he erected a number of mills, built vessels for transportation, and made Grand Haven an important source of the lumber trade for Chicago and vicinity.

A business partnership with a father so energetic, successful, and thorough, had a tendency to develop noble traits of character in his sons.

When the war broke out two of them entered the army, one of whom, Major N. H. Ferry of the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, fell at Gettysburg shot through the head while bravely leading his command.

Thomas W. Ferry's first political associations were with the Whigs, by whom he was elected to the Legislature of Michigan in 1857.

After the disintegration of the Whig party he became a Republican, and as such was elected to the State Senate in 1857, serving two years. He soon became an active and influential member of the Republican party. For a period of eight years he served on the Republican State Central Committee of Michigan. In 1860 he was a member and one of the Vice-Presidents of the National Convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency.

In 1864 he was elected a Representative from Michigan to the Thirty-Ninth Congress. In this Congress he was appointed upon three Committees: Post Offices and Post Roads, Militia, and the War Debts of the Loyal States. During the Thirty-Ninth Congress he was successful in originating and securing the passage of important measures for developing the resources and promoting the commerce of his State.

Mr. Ferry was re-elected to Congress for his second term by a majority of more than seven thousand votes. In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Ferry was re-appointed to the Post-Office Committee, and was placed on the important committee of Naval Affairs.

A Washington correspondent says: "Mr. Ferry is the hardest worker in the Post-Office Committee. The Department places him next to Colfax in connection with our mail system."

He has done a great deal to increase mail facilities for the region which he represents. When he entered Congress, in 1864, there was only a weekly mail from Grand Haven to Traverse City. Now there is a daily lake-shore mail, a daily mail by steamer, and a tri-weekly interior mail from Grand Rapids *via* Newaygo to Traverse City; a daily mail to Milwaukee and Chicago, and tri-weekly to St. Joseph.

Mr. Ferry was chairman of a sub-committee to visit New York to examine the old Post-Office, and report upon the necessity of a new

one. Speaking of the result of this investigation as laid before the House by Mr. Ferry, the *New York Herald* said: "The report is an interesting and instructive document. Mr. Ferry takes a broad and statesmanlike view of the wonderful progress and future grandeur of this metropolis, and urges the erection of an edifice which in point of architecture and completeness will do honor to the Republic and to her greatest city."

Mr. Ferry was influential in defeating the passage of a bill establishing low rates of tariff on lumber coming from Canada. In a speech on this measure, Mr. Ferry said: "Are we under any obligation to pursue so generous a policy as is proposed by the committee toward Canada? What has she done to merit this liberal treatment? What has been the experience of the past years of our sanguinary war? Did she lend the aid of her sympathy and good will, most cheaply given, which would have been gladly received? No, sir; she preferred to offer her soil as an asylum for plotters, conspirators, and traitors against the life of this Government. The treatment we had given Canada deserved her encouragement in the hour of our peril. Her press and voices should have been raised to conciliate England, to remind her that in the veins of this great people, battling for life and liberty, there ran the blood of her own sons, and that her hand should be stayed against a contest so righteous as putting down a rebellion founded on human slavery. We fought alone, under the sneers and jeers of both England and Canada, and crowned our victory with universal liberty, and vindicated the rights of humanity."

When the tax-bill was under consideration Mr. Ferry made a successful argument in favor of exempting breadstuffs and lumber from the tax. "It harmonizes," said he, "with the theory of that legislation which generously grants a free homestead to the poor settler who, for want of means, would otherwise roam homeless and a wanderer throughout the land. Freeing lumber from taxation lessens its cost and cheapens the shelter of the homestead. Releasing breadstuffs from taxation reduces the cost of the primal food of the primal poverty-stricken settler. With a free home, a free shelter, and free food,

the staple and necessary conditions of livelihood are protected, and the poorer classes of the community befriended by a considerate Government. With such protection and such a start in life, failure to rise above the misfortunes which hover around the more dependent classes of citizenship must be chargeable to personal inefficiency rather than to legislative authority."


Mr. Ferry is ready and sometimes even eloquent in speech. He never consumes time with displays of prepared oratory, but in extemporary speeches makes his point, and generally produces the desired effect.

Ever active in the service of his constituents, by voice and vote and private labor, he enjoys a high degree of popularity among them. They have lately given new evidence of their appreciation of their Representative by re-nominating and electing him to the Forty-first Congress by a large majority.



Thomson

THOMAS A. JENCKES.

 THOMAS A. JENCKES was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1818. Having graduated at Brown University in 1838, he studied law, and by his ability and industry soon rose to eminence in his profession. His practice was not merely of a local character, but the nature of the litigations of which he had charge, which were mostly in the courts of the United States, carried him frequently into other States and to Washington.

He first entered into public life in 1840, as Clerk of the Rhode Island House of Representatives, and held the office five years. During the Dorr Rebellion, he was Private Secretary to Governor King. From 1845 to 1855, he served as Adjutant-General of the State Militia. From 1854 to 1859, he was in the State Legislature—four years in the House, and one year in the Senate.

In 1863, he was elected a Representative from Rhode Island to the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Patents, and of the Special Committee on the Bankrupt Law. He was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress, in which he was continued at the head of the Committee on Patents, and was appointed Chairman of a Select Committee on the Civil Service.

His services in Congress have been of great value, and are such as entitled him to high rank among the legislators of the country. Among these services may be mentioned first his agency in the passage of the bill to establish a uniform system of Bankruptcy throughout the United States. He was the author and principal advocate of this bill, which is considered as by far the best act of the kind ever passed. In his speech upon this bill, June 1, 1864, we have the following beautiful introduction :

"MR. SPEAKER: I take pleasure in introducing into this House a subject for its action which is entirely unconnected with political or partisan questions. It relates solely and entirely to the business and men of business of the nation. Its consideration at the present time is demanded by every active business interest. It is a subject which we can discuss without acrimony, and differ upon without anger. If a division is had upon it, the lines will not be those of party. It is a green spot amid the arid wastes of party strife, and one to which the fiery scourge of civil war has not yet extended. It presents unusual claims upon us at the present time, when all the business interests of the country are in a state of constant agitation. The life of the nation is in the prosperity and energy of its active men. While they are encouraged, and their rights and interests protected by just legislation, their efforts will continue, and the nation will endure."

Mr. Jenckes then proceeds to specify the general purpose of the bill:

"What is now proposed is the enactment of a law with a different purpose from the ephemeral laws which have preceded it, and which shall form the basis of a permanent and uniform system of legislation and jurisprudence on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the country. We desire that henceforth there shall be no longer upon this subject one law in Maine, and another law in Wisconsin, a third in California, and a fourth in Kentucky, and so on throughout all the States; but one law for all; which the citizens of the United States, inhabiting each and all the States, may acknowledge, live under, and enjoy, and feel it to be as stable as the Constitution upon which it stands."

Mr. Jenckes states the points aimed to be secured by the bill to be, first, the discharge of the honest debtor upon the surrender of his property; and, second, the protection of the creditor against the fraudulent practices and reckless conduct of his debtor.

Further on, he thus depicts the former condition of an honest bankrupt: "If he possesses integrity and ability, those very qualities are a disadvantage in any attempt to procure a discharge. The

creditor says to him, "Some day you will recover yourself, or your friends will set you up in business, and then I can secure my debt." The qualifications for success are thus made to increase the penalties and sufferings of misfortune. * * *

"The laws formerly in force by which the creditor could keep his debtor in prison for an indefinite period, without relief, have been abolished in all Christian countries. But there may be a punishment of death without the knife, and an imprisonment without the bolts and bars of the jail. When in this country one enters the gates of hopeless insolvency, all his life must be passed within the imprisonment of mercantile dishonor, the pain of unanceled obligations, the surveillance of creditors, and there is no release except by death. Who enters here may hereafter write over such habitation as he may have during the remnant of his life, the motto that the poet found inscribed over the gates of hell:

'Who enters here abandons hope.'

To him thenceforth—

'Hope never comes, that comes to all.'

"Whatever may be his talents, whatever his skill the result of long business experience, whatever his opportunity, whatever his integrity and character, so long as creditors stand unwilling to release him, his life is one continuous thralldom, without the power of relief by his own exertions, and beyond the aid of his friends. Why should this be, and for what good? To what end? Do the public gain by it? Do the creditors? No one can answer in the affirmative."

The speech of Mr. Jenckes before the House, Jan. 17, 1868, in favor of "Supplementary Reconstruction," though brief, was one of the very best on that side of this great question. By the precedent of President Tyler's administration bearing upon the difficulties in Rhode Island in 1842, in connection with the "Charter government," and the "People's government," as well as by the decision of the Supreme Court in that case, Mr. Jenckes clearly demonstrated that the authority and power to decide what is, and what is not, the constitutional government of a State, is with Congress, in distinction

from either of the other departments of the General Government. He then presented the whole existing case and condition of affairs as follows:

"Now, in the light of this precedent, what is the true ground for the action now proposed? We all agree with the opinion of the present President, in the spring of 1865, when he issued his proclamation of the reorganization of the State of North Carolina, that there was no civil government there; that all civil government there had been utterly destroyed by the rebellion. During the period immediately preceding the meeting of the last Congress, he undertook to do what his predecessor, Mr. Tyler, under similar circumstances, said he had no power to do—to raise and construct State governments. It is true, he said all the time, that the action of the people of these States, and the executive department in that region, would be subject to the approval and ratification of Congress when it assembled.

"Now, when Congress did assemble, the acts of the President and those under his authority were not satisfactory to that tribunal. It was a long time before the Thirty-ninth Congress could obtain official information of what had been done. Congress met on the first Monday in December, and the message of the President, transmitting the information to Congress, was not received until the month of March following.

"In the mean time, evidence of hostility to the Government of the United States, which was unmistakable in its character, had been received from every quarter of the South. The Executive did not conceal his disappointment at the coolness with which his efforts at reconstruction had been received by the people. Congress undertook to settle the difficulty by proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, establishing a due proportion between the representation and the voting constituency. Instead of the acceptance of that amendment either by these pretended State governments or by the Executive, it was opposed by the latter, and rejected by the States most interested in it. * * *

"What was to be done? Was Congress to allow a new rebellion to

be instigated, to be fostered into life by the Executive? or were they to undertake other means for keeping peace throughout the nation? They decided that it was their duty to undertake other means, and those means are these Reconstruction Acts."

But perhaps the most important Congressional service yet rendered by Mr. Jenckes, remains to be sketched. We refer to a bill of which he is the author, and which he lately introduced in the House, entitled "a bill to regulate the civil service of the United States, and to promote the efficiency thereof."

The first section of this bill will sufficiently explain its purpose and drift. It provides, "That hereafter all appointments of civil officers in the several departments of the service of the United States, except postmasters and such officers as are by law required to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be made from those persons who shall have been found best qualified for the performance of the duties of the offices to which such appointments are to be made, in an open and competitive examination, to be conducted as herein prescribed."

An admirable and very able speech from Mr. Jenckes, accompanied the presentation of this important measure, of which we have space for merely the outlines.

He began by submitting that what the bill proposes was substantially the same principle as has always been applied to the Military and Naval service, illustrating the statement by reference to Military and Naval schools, and the examinations there required. Then, after glancing at certain reasons why the same principle has not been applied to the Civil service, he expatiates upon the necessity of a thorough reformation in the mode of appointment to office, and the duties of Heads of Departments and Members of Congress with regard to appointments to office. He also dwells upon the tendency of the present system of appointments toward centralization; and in stating the conclusion of the Committee upon this point, he makes the following startling announcement:

"It is safe to assert that the number of offices may be diminished

one-third, and the efficiency of the whole force of the civil service increased one-half, with a corresponding reduction of salaries for discontinued offices, if a healthy system of appointment and discipline be established for its government."

Mr. Jenckes then comes to the *remedy*—the measure he is advocating—and the mode of applying it. For the latter he proposes, first, open admission to these offices to all; in other words, a free competition; at the same time, suggesting that the requirement of a proper examination into qualifications, and scrutiny into character, will greatly diminish the number of applicants. He proposes, second, that the most worthy candidates receive appointments; and he explains, third, how the best attainable talent can be secured.

In the remainder of this important speech, Mr. Jenckes descants upon the grand effect of the proposed system, and incidental topics, and concludes with the following summary:

"Thus, while this proposed system will stimulate education and bring the best attainable talent into the public service, it will place that service above all consideration of locality, favoritism, patronage, or party, and will give it permanence and the character of nationality as distinct from its present qualities of insecurity and of centralized power. A career will be opened to all who wish to serve the Republic; and although its range is limited, yet success in it will be an admitted qualification for that higher and more laborious and uncertain competition before the people, if any one should be tempted to enter upon it. The nation will be better served; the Government will be more stable and better administered; property will be more secure; personal rights more sacred; and the Republic more respected and powerful. The great experiment of self-government, which our fathers initiated, will have another of its alien elements of discord removed from it, and in its administration, in peace as well as in war, will have become a grand success."



W. H. Robertson

WILLIAM H. ROBERTSON.



WILLIAM H. ROBERTSON was born in the town of Bedford, Westchester County, New York, October 10, 1863. The summers of his boyhood, with few exceptions, were spent upon his father's farm. His education was obtained in the common school and at Union Academy, then a flourishing literary institution in northern Westchester. After leaving the academy, he taught a district school for two years. He subsequently studied law, and in September, 1847, was admitted to practice in all the courts of his native State.

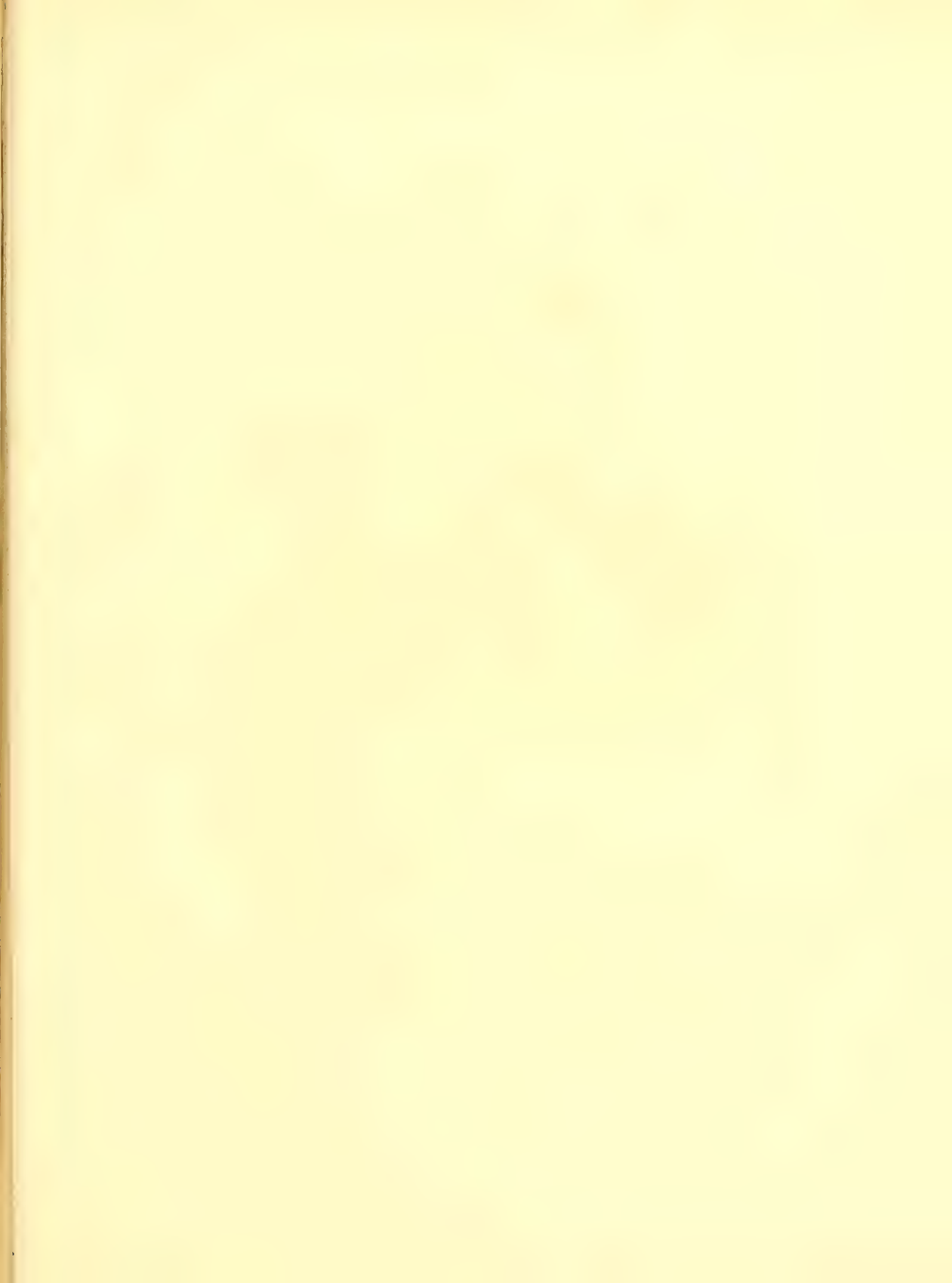
In 1848, he was elected Member of Assembly on the Whig ticket, and served two terms. He gave a vigorous support to the bill, which became a law, for the establishment of Free Schools throughout the State. His motto was "Education for all. Liberty for all."

In 1853, he was elected Senator on the Whig ticket, although the district gave the Democratic State ticket at that election about three thousand majority. As Chairman of the Committee on Literature, he reported and carried through a bill separating the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools from that of Secretary of State, and establishing a distinct and independent bureau for the educational interests of the State. He also introduced and carried through a bill for the protection of mechanics and laborers in the erection of buildings in his county, which has never been repealed. Every bill introduced by him during his legislative career, passed that branch of the Legislature of which, at the time, he was a member. During the period of his service in the House and Senate, there were passed at least fifty local bills affecting the section he represented.

At that time Know-Nothingism was at its flood. Mr. Robertson introduced in the Senate a series of concurrent resolutions, which were adopted by the Legislature of 1855, which demanded the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act and the enactment of a law declaring that slavery shall not exist except where it is established by the local laws of the State; declared that New York would never consent to the admission into the Union of any State that may be formed out of the Territory of Kansas and Nebraska, unless its constitution shall prohibit the existence of slavery within its limits; and that every attempt to control, by the dictation of secret political societies, or by the imposition of oaths or kindred obligations, the political action of any citizen, is at war with the true theory of our Government, destructive of personal independence, hostile to the rights of the great body of the people, and detrimental to the public welfare.

In 1855, he was elected County-Judge of Westchester County, on the Republican ticket, was re-elected in 1859, and again in 1863, although the County was at each of these elections largely Democratic. In 1860, he was a Presidential Elector, and voted in the Electoral College for Lincoln and Hamlin. He was Chairman of the Senate Committee appointed by Governor Morgan, in 1862, to raise volunteers in the Seventh Senate District of New York, which sent many soldiers to the front, and especially the Sixth New York Heavy Artillery. In 1864, he was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention, and favored the nomination of Lincoln and Johnson.

In 1866, he was elected on the Republican ticket a Representative to the Fortieth Congress, from the Tenth Congressional District of New York, by a majority exceeding two thousand. He was appointed a member of the Committees on Commerce and Revolutionary Claims. He favored the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson, and voted uniformly against his vetoes. Mr. Robertson declined a re-nomination for Representative, in order that he might devote himself exclusively to his profession.





R. J. Van Horn

ROBERT T. VAN HORN.



MORE than two hundred years ago the ancestors of Robert T. Van Horn emigrated from Holland to America, and settled in New Jersey, near New York. His great grandfather, Henry Van Horn, was a captain in the "Pennsylvania Line" of the Revolutionary war, and died in the service. His son Isaiah, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was a member of his company, and served until the close of the war. The father of Robert T. Van Horn enlisted as a soldier in the war of 1812, and is still living, at an age of more than four-score years. His mother, Elizabeth Thompson, was born in the parish of Bannaher, County of Londonderry, Ireland, and came to this country while a girl—her father, Robert Thompson, settling in the wilderness of Western Pennsylvania.

Robert T. Van Horn was born in East Mahoning, Indiana County, Pennsylvania, May 19, 1824. He was early put to work on his father's farm, collecting stones from the meadows, picking brush, raking hay, going to mill, and performing such other labors as small boys are able to do. He generally attended school three months in the year, studying reading, writing, and arithmetic, but not advancing to grammar, as this branch had not then been introduced into the schools of that region.

When fifteen years of age, he was apprenticed to learn the printing business in the office of the *Indiana (Pa.) Register*, where he remained four years. From 1843 to 1855, he worked as a journeyman printer, in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Indiana, meanwhile varying his occupation by boating on the Erie Canal a portion of one season,

teaching school in winter, publishing and editing newspapers occasionally, and steamboating two seasons on the Ohio, Mississippi, Wabash, and other Western rivers. In addition to all the other pursuits of these twelve years, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar, but practiced only a very short time. He was married in 1848, at Pomeroy, Ohio.

In 1855, he located at Kansas City, Missouri, then a small village, where he founded the *Journal of Commerce*, now the leading daily paper of that part of Missouri. Here he was elected Alderman, and was afterwards Postmaster. In 1860, he supported Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidency. Soon after the Presidential election, the question of secession was forced upon the people of Missouri, and in the canvass for members of the Convention, in February, he took a very active part on the Union side.

In April, 1861, he was selected by the Union men of Kansas City, as their candidate for Mayor, and after the most exciting municipal election ever known in the place, was elected to the office. This was the only municipal election that year in Missouri in which the Union issue was openly and fairly made.

In May, 1861, Claiborne F. Jackson, Governor of Missouri, having declared for secession, and there being no one to commission military officers, Mr. Van Horn applied to Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, commanding at the St. Louis Arsenal, and obtained authority from him to raise three hundred men. The men raised under this authority were the first troops mustered into the United States service in Missouri, outside of St. Louis.

On the 18th of July, 1861, Major Van Horn fought an engagement with a rebel force under Col. Duncan, near Harrisonville, Mo., and defeated him. This was three days before the battle of Bull Run, and was the first fight in Western Missouri.

In September, 1861, he commanded a force under Col. Mulligan, at Lexington, Missouri, where, on the last day of the siege, he was severely wounded. After the exchange of prisoners—Mulligan's command for the Camp Jackson prisoners—he was appointed Lieu-

tenant-Colonel of the Twenty-fifth Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and was ordered to Tennessee. Colonel Van Horn commanded his regiment at Shiloh, where he had a horse killed under him on the first day of the battle. In the advance upon Corinth, he, for a short time, commanded a brigade. Having remained at Corinth after its evacuation till September 1, he was ordered to Southeast Missouri and Arkansas, under Gen. Davidson, in his movement on Little Rock. The consolidation of Colonel Van Horn's regiment, near the close of its three years' service, with the First Engineers, terminated his active military service.

While with his regiment in Mississippi, Colonel Van Horn was elected to the Missouri Senate. He was one of the members of that body who early organized the opposition to the administration of Governor Gamble, a movement which led to the organization of the Radical party of Missouri.

At the close of his service in the Senate, Mr. Van Horn was again, without opposition, elected Mayor of Kansas City, and as such was charged with the organization of the volunteer militia, and the construction of defensive works around the city, before its occupation by General Curtis, in his movement against Sterling Price's last invasion of Missouri.

In 1864, Mr. Van Horn was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention, which nominated Mr. Lincoln for re-election to the Presidency. He was, the same year, elected a Representative from the Sixth District of Missouri to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and has since been twice re-elected.

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